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PROGRESSIVE LABOR

Volume 9 Number 4 March-April 1974

Steel: Bosses' Inferno

Auto Workers Must Put Brakes on the Big 3

Hypertension and Racism

Trotsky - Another Right Winger

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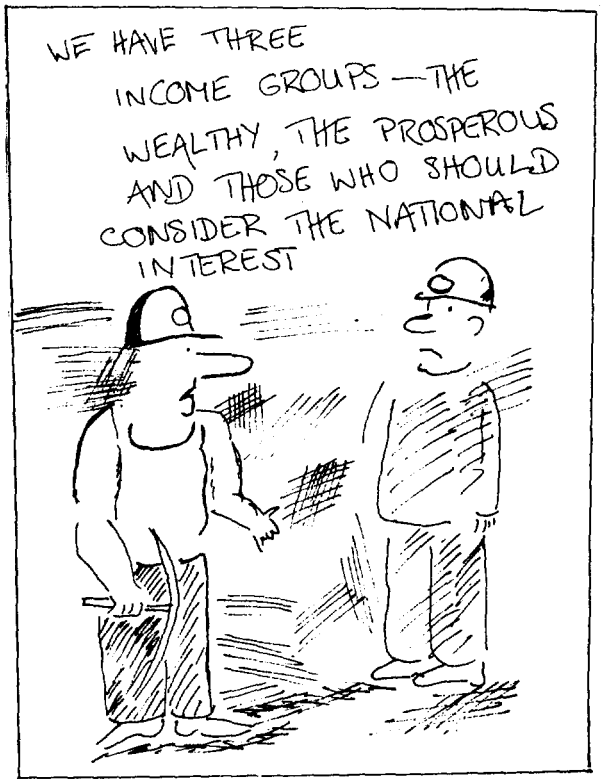
Energy Crisis: Proof That Capitalist System Can't Work

Editorial

The bosses are having another fight over the issue of whether there is an "energy crisis," or whether it is simply a hoax by the big oil companies to jack up prices and get bigger tax breaks. The truth of the matter is that they are both right! The liberals would have us believe that there is nothing wrong with the system except that some crooked politicians (exemplified by Nixon) now hold power. They say right-wingers and their pals in big business can be controlled and the system can operate rationally if only right wingers are tossed out of office and the fat cats are controlled by honest politicians. In other words, it's not the system but the men who run it who are to blame.

The big oil men and some of their cronies in Congress have simply proved that they have used natural resources wastefully and only for their profit. After all, what is the big difference between this "energy crisis" situation and any other way the bosses operate? Bosses always band together to control the market and keep prices higher. The difference now is that in the oil industry between bosses' wastefulness, lack of planning, price gouging, contradictions with various Arab overloads, and with the Soviets muscling in on the U.S. oil empire via Egypt and Syria the U.S. companies now have a greater crisis than the crisis that would be created by an artificial shortage to keep prices up and drive out small competitors from the field. The oil problem is much less intense in the U.S. because the U.S. produces about 85% of its own oil. But U.S. bosses are growing concerned because they are not self-sufficient in energy. And they are growing more and more dependent on less dependent forces like many of the oil kings of the Middle East.

The main question today is whether workers in the U.S. and in other lands are going to pay for underwriting the bosses' troubles. It doesn't seem that way! Massive strikes are under way in Great Britain especially by the miners. Here in this country, the 12% increase in strikes, from 1972 to 1973, was the third highest in history. Only last year the bosses were crowing over the fact that strikes were easing off. But the facts of life indicate otherwise. The strike wave is just developing! It has not peaked! And a lot of changes can happen before the dust settles. U.S. workers have always given a good account of themselves in the face of bosses' oppression. There is every reason to believe they will continue in their militant traditions.



The bosses are in trouble and they want workers to pay for it. Our answer to them should be loud and clear: "Get lost!" For years bosses have been bellowing to the skies about a society of abundance. But the facts are growing clearer; mounting unemployment, cold homes, higher prices, larger taxes, wage freezes, and a million and one other assaults on our hard won conditions show where things are at.

"... they (U.S. bosses) are in the process of cutting our wages 50%. Now—the boss doesn't come around and tell us one Friday afternoon that we will find half our pay in the envelope. They know if they approach us this way we would hit the roof, take to the streets, and throw them out of power."

natural gas from the Urals.

In the meantime, gas prices have risen and it will take years for the Soviet gas swindle to bear fruit. We say swindle, because in the final analysis our tax dollars and our higher gas rates will subsidize the $50 billion deal.

The bosses can't plan themselves out of a paper bag. As a result we have to pay and pay and pay.

"In the long run, if the ruling class can't solve its energy and other problems, they may simply try and grab it."

AS THEIR PROFIT EMPIRE DWINDLES AND they become even more frustrated, the threat of war increases. If, in the long run, the ruling class can't solve its energy and other problems, they may simply try and grab it. This has always been

IN ORDER FOR U.S. BOSSES TO WIGGLE OUT of their current quandary, they are in the process of cutting our wages about 50%. Now, the boss doesn't come around and tell us one Friday afternoon that we will find half our pay in the envelope. They know if they approach us this way we would hit the roof, take to the streets, and throw them out of power. Instead, they "nickel" (now it's a dollar) us to death. By raising prices, taxes, et. al., they have virtually doubled our expenses. They have frozen our wages so that wages continually lag behind living costs. Additionally, the streets are crumbling under our feet, like our homes, schools and hospitals.

'If there is a conflict . . . we don't need [the U. S. oil companies]. We can buy the technology. But we have not reached this point yet'

—Prince Saud al-Faisal

Business Week

Oil Minister Yamani emphasizes that 51% for Saudi Arabia is 'not satisfactory.'

The present "energy crisis" is just another sign that the ruling class is growing less able to organize society in a rational or good way. "Experts in the oil industry and outside think world oil production will hit its peak in about twenty fi[illegible] years, then start to decline. During the last generation oil consumption has been doubling every decade. Put these two facts together and you have a recipe for disaster." (Anthony Lewis, N.Y. **Times**)

The big oil companies, like other profiteers, can only see—if they are profound—beyond the ends of their noses. They are using this current crisis to jack up prices so they can make even greater profits. And they will use a small amount of these profits to expand their oil production efforts.

Obviously, the growing "energy crisis" is nothing new. For the last few years the big utilities, like Con-Ed, in N.Y.C., has been yapping about the shortage of electric power. While raising their prices to the sky and laying-off workers, they have done little or nothing to create more energy. The natural gas companies have been running out of supplies for some time, and only of late have signed a long-term contract with the Soviets to pipe their standard operating procedure and there is no reason to believe anything is different now. Who will the bosses try and get to move for the oil in the Middle East? US! In other words, if we don't get rid of them, war, racism, unemployment and all other rotten aspects of capitalism are going to develop and worsen. What is the point of us continuing to have a crisis of bosses' oppression?

Recently, in the Wall Street **Journal** (Dec. 26, 1973) an article called "What Next?" points up the growing sharpness of their problems.

"America's dependence on imported metal seen leading to new crisis. The less developed countries may boost prices sharply; new foreign policy urged. After the energy crisis could come a metal crisis. That grim possibility is beginning to haunt officials here as the Arab oil embargo stirs new fears about the nation's growing dependence on foreign supplies of many crucial mineral ores."

Even with its seemingly plentiful mineral deposits, the U.S. must look to outside suppliers. An official study forecasts that by 1985 we shall depend on imports for one half our iron, lead, nickel, tin, and zinc. Expenditures for these minerals will jump from $5 billion to $44 billion by the year 2000.

U.S. rulers, caught between these impending oil and mineral crises, are being forced into the position of tripling prices on everything. They will try to organize us to rob it from other lands.

Sky-rocketing prices, which were in full ascendancy way before the "energy crisis" surfaced, has forced a big cut-back in buying. Hard hit has been the auto industry. Car sales had already been slumping. Now they are trying to make us believe this is only due to the gas shortage. The slight cut-back in gas importing has affected car sales. But the gas shortage was supposed to drive millions into a small car buying spree. This spree was supposed to revive the declining auto industry. At this writing the only thing which it seems to have done is to have over 100,000 workers laid-off. These 100,000 are only the vanguard. When auto production is down, and when auto workers are out of work, things quickly back up. More unemployment in all industries will rapidly appear. Hardest hit are the minority workers.

"The biggest thing these U.S. bosses have going for them is the revisionist powers in the Soviet Union and China."

Massive unemployment results in less buying. So the prospects for a rapidly rising auto industry are slim. Additionally, U.S. pals in Western Europe and Japan have similar problems. Their economies are on the downturn. Recession and depression already exist in England, Western Europe and Japan. The entire western capitalist world (which was supposed to have answers for all workers' problems) is in a state of crisis.

WHILE ASPECTS OF THIS MIGHT HAVE SOME positive side-effects for U.S. bosses, it isn't all roses for them. U.S. rulers have mammoth investments in Western Europe and Japan. When business slumps there, it makes it harder for U.S. bosses to make a buck. Protective U.S. tariffs against products from those countries only leads to like tactics by them against U.S. products. Both these factors hurt the profit and production figures for U.S. bosses. U.S. and other bosses try and solve these problems in the usual way. They attempt and get us to pay more for whatever we have to buy. Bosses hope this will keep profits up even though unit sales slump.

Kremlin "leaders" have a friend on Wall Street.

The biggest handle these bosses have going for them is the revisionist powers in the Soviet Union and China. On one hand these two new imperial states can make economic inroads due to the slippage of the industrial giants of the West. On the other, they don't want to go too far. Going too far might lead to war, a prospect they are deathly afraid of. If they encourage revolutionary developments, workers would be strengthened in their quest for political power. These two ersatz socialist powers are more afraid of workers and peasants than the capitalists. The two fake socialist camps are at one another's throats so each one is currying favor with U.S. bosses—who the Chinese used to describe as "worse than Hitler."

Both China and the Soviets have thrown open their frontiers to economic penetration by the U.S., Western Europe and Japan.

IN THE LAST YEAR, TRADE WITH THE U.S. by both of these countries has soared. While trade with China has not nearly reached its potential, last year's amounted to over a billion dollars. In addition to the $50 billion gas deal with the Soviets (the largest trade agreement in history), there are numerous smaller significant ones. Recently, a typical deal was consumated between Litwin Industries, petro-chemical, for over **one hundred million dollars!** This deal is only the first of many with this one company (**Business Week,** Dec. 26). These deals are not simply trade arrangements. They also give U.S. and others the right to limited investments in the U.S.S.R. At the moment, trade with the Soviets is far greater than with China. But in the longer run, if the opportunists in Peking are able to keep the workers off their backs, it will become the largest area for U.S. penetration in the world.

So the revisionists serve U.S. bosses well in two ways: 1) they give them a great deal of economic maneuverability; 2) they turn workers and peasants away from revolution.

Moreover, revisionists also buy-off and encourage any radical force in the world to go along with the status quo. Naturally, this giant sellout is couched in the language of "dialectical militancy."

"Workers' revolution is the only way forward. Seize this opportunity".

At this point, it is difficult for us to indicate the extent this maneuverability with the fakes in Moscow and Peking will give Western and Japanese bosses the chance to avoid a full-blown crisis. But, obviously, it is significant.

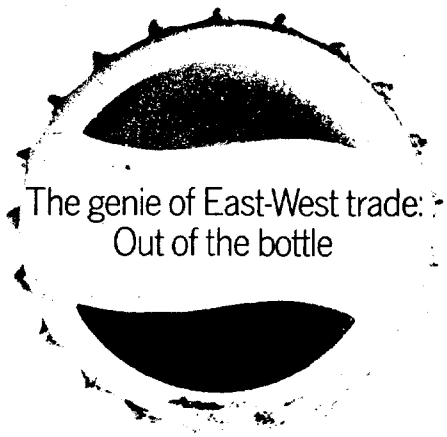
The Moscow puppeteers have already given their Arab nationalist stooges the go-ahead sign to release some of the oil. In any event, the Arab oil moguls will have to peddle all their oil—sooner or later; they would be hard pressed—economically and physically—to hold it for a long time.

At the same time, the Soviets, and their Arab oil magnates are withholding enough so as to keep pressure on the U.S., Israel, and others to force the Israelis to withdraw to the pre-1967 borders in the Mid-East. Within this scenario there is much margin for slips. The client states of the U.S. and Soviets may not stay in line, and provoke a larger crisis or even war. But, at the moment, the U.S. and Soviets are still operating within the limits of collusion and contradiction. This is the 1970s version of reshaping the world's markets to the relationship of capitalist forces in the world.

Workers and their allies cannot look to anyone

Alexei Kosygin has a friend at Chase Manhattan...

By Harvey D. Shapiro



The genie of East-West trade: Out of the bottle

. . . and his name is David Rockefeller. The Premier of the Communist world's most powerful state and the chairman of the capitalist world's third largest bank got to know one another last year when Rockefeller was invited to Moscow to discuss opening a Chase Manhattan office in the Soviet capital. They met again last May when the bank long controlled by the family many consider the personification of American capitalism opened an office at No. 1 Karl Marx Square, only a block from the Kremlin.*

It is no coincidence, as V. I. Lenin used to say,

Let a hundred deals bloom

The dramatic increase in American business involvement in the Eastern-bloc countries is being recapitulated with surprising swiftness in the Far East. Last year the People's Republic of China bought $690-million worth of American products, up from $63-million in 1972 and nothing at all in 1971.

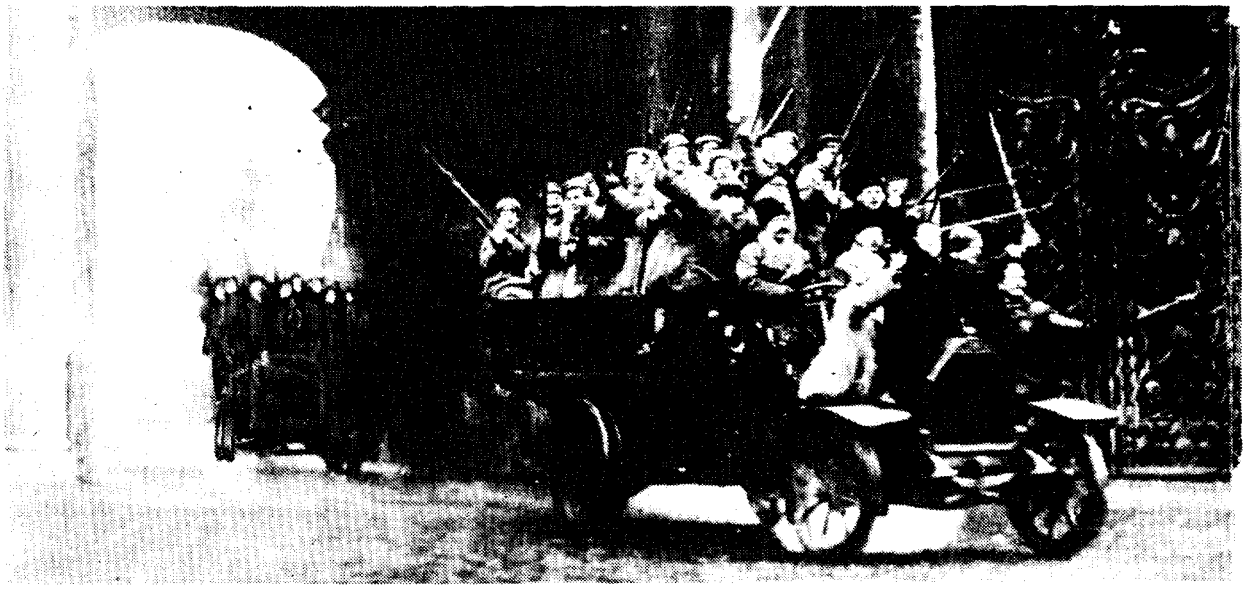
Reflecting a dismal harvest, the bulk of last year's American imports were agricultural products, principally wheat, corn, cotton and soybeans. But the largest single transaction was China's purchase of 10 Boeing 707's for $150-million. Recently, The M. W. Kellogg Co., a Pullman subsidiary, contracted to build eight ammonia plants in China for $200-million, and a variety of American businessmen are now discussing technology transfers to a country which, diplomatically, didn't even exist a few years ago.

While developments in Soviet-American trade have been carefully interwoven with diplomatic developments, Chinese and American leaders have let their nascent economic relationship progress independent of political issues. But as a result of the Chinese Government's apparent willingness to let a hundred deals bloom, signs of a business-as-usual situation seem to be emerging in the land of the cultural revolution.

When David Rockefeller visited Peking a year ago, the peripatetic banker signed up the Bank of China as a correspondent for Chase Manhattan (which has also won the checking accounts of China's U.N. delegation). And recently a delegation of businessmen visiting China under the auspices of the National Council for U.S.-China Trade signed a communiqué with Chinese officials calling for a Chinese trade delegation to visit the United States this year, with an American trade exhibit in China soon thereafter.

Like the Eastern-bloc nations, China must find a way to pay for the wide range of American technology it is seeking. The Chinese have already altered their ideological opposition to foreign borrowing by agreeing to a number of "deferred payment" plans which include somewhat veiled interest charges. They're seeking to broaden their range of exports to the U.S. (which totaled only $64-million in 1973) with new products. And they may even extend the Sino-Soviet rift to New York liquor stores when China's "Great Wall" vodka begins competing with other premium-priced brands, including Russia's Stolichnaya. —H.D.S.

The name of the game is deals for profits.



THIS or THAT

there is often required socializing at night.

So far, Chase has underwritten parts of the Soviet grain purchases and has made an $86-million loan to the Soviet Government to finance American equipment for the giant Kama River truck foundry, while several other deals are pending. The Moscow office is already turning a profit, Rockefeller says, and sometimes Wentworth and his associate, Richard Buckley, barely have time

their products to the Soviet Union and the other Eastern European countries. Besides Chase Manhattan, General Electric, International Harvester, Pullman and a half dozen other giant American companies, which once might have composed a Kremlin enemies list, now have permanent offices in Moscow, while others are scattered through Eastern Europe. Altogether, American exports to the Eastern-bloc countries, excluding Yugoslavia, reached an estimated $1.9-billion last year (including $750-million in grain), a dramatic increase from sales of $820-million in 1972 and $380-million in 1971. (American exports to China are also beginning to increase at a dramatic rate.)

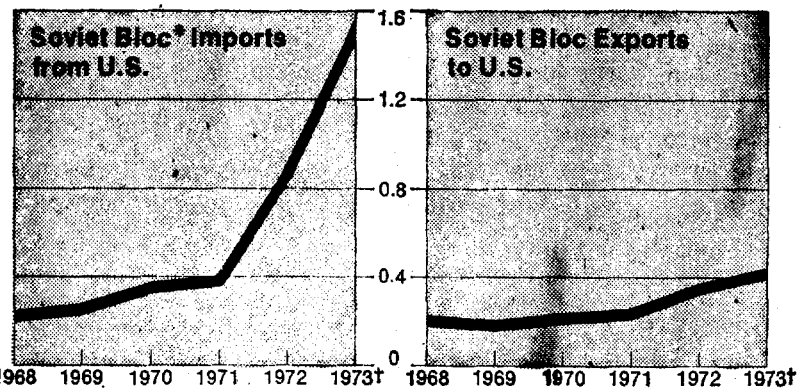
West Coast. Three other American firms have agreed to develop the Urengoi fields in Western Siberia to supply the East Coast, but prospects for both deals are clouded by problems of financing—Congress may block the $2-billion in Government loans needed for the $12-billion projects—and by President Nixon's goal of energy self-sufficiency by 1980—which is when the first Russian gas would arrive here.

With the Communists bailing out the dollar and helping to ease our energy crisis, with David Rockefeller making money in Moscow, with Dr. Armand Hammer proposing to build a luxurious four-star hotel and golf course for visiting businessmen in Moscow—and with Communist party chief Leonid Brezhnev heartily endorsing the idea—those raised on Marxist-Leninist orthodoxies and cold-war shibboleths are often hard put to understand what is going on.

About 70 American companies have orders totaling more than $220-million to help equip the huge Kama River truck plant, being built 550 miles east of Moscow, and the complex will require an estimated $1.5-billion in additional Western equipment over the next decade. Some 50 Russians set up shop on a floor of Pittsburgh's Mellon National Bank last year to work with Swindell-Dressler on the design of the truck foundry, and Swindell's parent company, Pullman Inc., was given an office in a Moscow hotel suite. Similar large-scale contracts may be available to help complete the giant Cheboksary tractor plant.

N.Y. Times

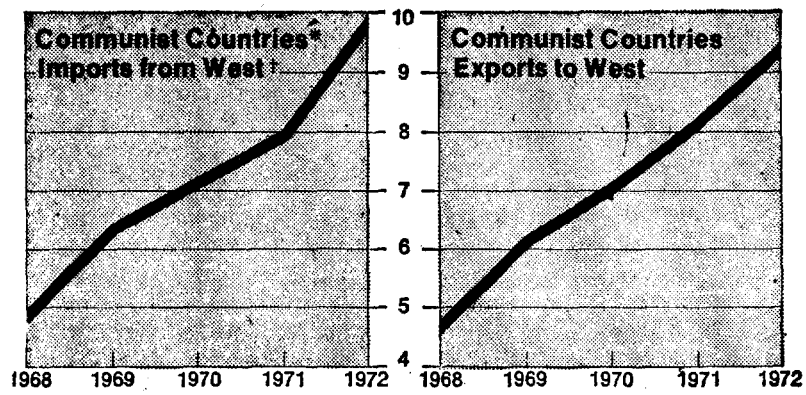
Trading With Communist Countries (Billions of dollars)



*Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Rumania and U.S.S.R. (including Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia.)

†Thru Oct. 1973

Source: Department of Commerce



*Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, U.S.S.R., China, North Vietnam, and Mongolia.

†Australia, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, West Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, Britain, and Yugoslavia.

but themselves to keep out of the killing meat-grinder of the scenario of the U.S. and the Soviets. They cannot look to anyone but themselves to avoid the full consequences of the ravages of imperialist crises. Three-day work weeks at low pay in Great Britain, coupled with massive unemployment, is what is in store for all workers in this country and others. Oil workers in the Mid-East, whose labor is only a part of the 7 cents required to produce a barrel of oil, are in for greater exploitation and war if they stick to their oil-overlords. Israeli workers are doomed to extinction if they continue to play the game of Dayan and Meir. The price of sticking with the capitalist rulers is deadly.

Workers must go on the offensive and fight their way out of the ruling class rat-hole. Today, the fight for 30-40, against racist unemployment and for socialism has greater importance than ever. Capitalist crisis means misery and ultimately war. Workers' revolution is the only way forward. Seize this opportunity. It is not just a question of a long line at some gas station—it is a question of life and death for the working class.

Steel: Bosses' Inferno

Driving north on Broadway, downtown Gary. Ninth Avenue, and the mill gates six blocks ahead are invisible, hidden by a dense cloud of gray. An acrid, choking smell hangs in the air. The sleeping baby coughs. Close the windows tight, try not to let it in. But the smell fills the car.

Fifth Avenue. The sound of sirens behind the car: slow down. The ambulance screams by, red lights flashing. Wails past and under the railroad overpass. Only one thing is there—the mill.

Today U.S. Steel made a baby cough. How many are slowly dying?

What happened to the worker the ambulance went for? What machine crushed him? What molten steel burned him? What fumes overcame him?

Each day, the Big Mill takes its grisly toll.

(On the day that this incident took place, the Gary **Post-Tribune** reported that the sulfur dioxide level was at .1069 parts per million (ppm). The danger level is .1 oppm (1). The same day, an explosion at the Inland Steel coke plant burned six workers, two of whom later died.

* * * * * *

U.S. imperialism is finding itself in an ever-worsening crisis. To shore up the home economy, to boost profit rates, and to remain in a competitive world position, U.S. bosses are resorting to new measures to get workers to work harder.

THIS IS WHAT NIXON'S FAMOUS "PRODUCtivity" comes down to. They are trying to fool workers with new schemes to oppose job boredom which supposedly give workers a "share" in the "decision making"—all of which translates into producing more for the bosses. And now they are using the steel industry as a spearhead for a new compulsory-arbitration-no-strike drive.

Actually, all these measures only serve to **sharpen** class conflict. These productivity schemes result in deteriorating working conditions, more health and safety hazards on the job. Naturally, this means more struggle on the safety issue. So the ruling class came up with governmental regulations on safety and health to cover their tracks.

But workers are seeing through all this garbage. Witness Lordstown, the rash of wildcat strikes, and the growing movement for a shorter work week. The struggle for clean, safe working conditions will grow, led by rank and file militants. This struggle must be linked to the fight for a shorter work week, against racism, and to a working class movement for revolution and socialism.

This article details conditions of safety and health in the steel industry, the role played by the Steelworkers union and by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration. It outlines the tasks Progressive Labor Party feels are currently facing steelworkers in this arena.

DEATH TOLL IN STEEL ON THE RISE

Several years ago, all of the coal mines in West Virginia were shut down. Tens of thousands of miners wildcatted against the opposition not only of the coal industry giants, but also of their own bought-and-paid-for union officials. The wildcats grew into the Black Lung movement. Thousands of miners, their families, their widows, realized that the mine bosses' blood-lust had to stop, and they got together to fight.

SINCE THEN, CONCERN OVER ON-THE-JOB health and safety has been growing in all industries. Likewise in the steel industry, one of the largest and most basic industries to the U.S. economy. The death and injury rates in steel are not as high as in some other industries (coal mining, logging and construction are much worse). But that is only a pitiful reflection on the safety of the working class in the hands of U.S. industry. For the death and misery caused by the steel mills is immense, and the slow death and even more "indirect" pollution-caused illness goes as far as the wind.

Fifty five U.S. workers die each day in on-the-job "accidents." (Bureau of Labor Statistics figure.) In 1969, 14,300 workers died in work-related accidents and 3,000,000 more were disabled.2 The rate of disabling injuries per million man hours worked in the primary metals industry (which includes steel) rose from 15.2 in 1968 to 17.1 in 1969.3

These injuries and deaths are directly related to speed-up and "productivity" plans. The steel bosses' hunger for the most profit possible means

paying as little attention as possible to obvious safety hazards.

For example, last year Francisco Guerrero, a worker in the 80-inch mill at Inland Steel's East Chicago plant, died when a crane hook dropped its coil of steel on him. There was no safety latch on the crane hook. The anger resulting from Guerrero's killing forced Inland to install safety latches, but true to form they installed the cheapest ones they could find, and all were broken in a few weeks.

More recently, a 19-year-old worker at Youngstown Sheet and Tube's plant in E. Chicago was incinerated when he fell into molten steel. The same week, an Inland worker was incinerated.

According to adolph Schwarts of the USWA Safety and Health Department, "most of the cranes throughout the Industry, particularly the Basic Steel Industry, many of them don't have brakes on them, they have cable problems, all kinds of debris on them . . . usually when an accident occurs relating to the loading or unloading of steel beams it's a very serious and quite often fatal accident. Workers are crushed on the inside of cars and on the inside of trucks."4

A U.S. Steel worker and member of Workers for Democracy (a recently formed group of steel and other workers in Northwest Indiana concerned with safety and health issues) described his working conditions this way:

"There were holes in the floor; you couldn't hear the cranemen when they came blowing their horns at you; while they were setting plates down by you there was a lot of noise..... holes in the floor where wires were supposed to be running under the floor, cover plates off, no burning skids, gears uncoverad on motors. The OSHA inspector said ..... the cranes weren't kit to run..... In the tracks where they switch cranes there was scrap bood, if anyone is walking there at night you could fall and get hurt." (5)

AROUND 1961, THE STEEL INDUSTRY BEGAN heavy new capital investment. You might think that one thing they would do would be to install safer equipment, fix their equipment. The figures show that rather than falling, injury rates have risen in steel since 1961:

DISABLING INJURIES PER MILLION MAN-HOURS WORKED6

1961 - 4.0	1964 - 4.6	1967 - 5.4
1962 - 4.2	1965 - 5.3	1968 - 6.8
1963 - 4.4	1966 - 6.3	1969 - 7.3

Prior to 1961, the rate had been declining for many years. Thus, the new equipment introduced to get higher productivity, has proven itself even less safe than the older more delapidated plants.

Well-maintained equipment is safe equipment and there are plenty of people looking for work, but the steel industry prefers "productivity" (read speed-up) over safety.

The Calumet Environmental and Occupational Health Committee, a group of professional people in Indiana working hard to expose the health hazards caused by the steel and other industries, and to help workers fight them, found recent statistics on mills in the Calumet (Gary-South Chicago) area.

"According to coroners' records, more than 50 persons died at Youngstown, Inland, Bethlehem, U.S. Steel Gary and South Works, Republic and Wisconsin during the three years 1968, 1969, and 1970. Of these 33 died at the two U.S. Steel mills; 21 at Gary Works, 12 at South Works. The year by year totals for Calumet area steel mills were:

1968 - 21 1969 - 10 1970 - 21

Clearly the trend is not going down."7

Of course, all of these figures are gross underestimates of the actual death toll. They do not reflect the numbers of workers who become ill or die due to long-term defects of their work.

A FEW OF THE HAZARDS TO STEELWORKERS' HEALTH

NOISE8

The maximum legal limit of noise in the U.S. is 90 decibels. In most industry, including steel, the decibel level is higher than this. Industry tried to have the limit set at 100 decibels, but compromised for 90. At 100 decibels, 40% of workers would be deaf by retirement age. 90 decibels produces a somewhat lower percentage of deafness.

However, impaired hearing, as important as that is, is not the only bad effect that excessive noise can have. A study done on European workers came up with the following results:

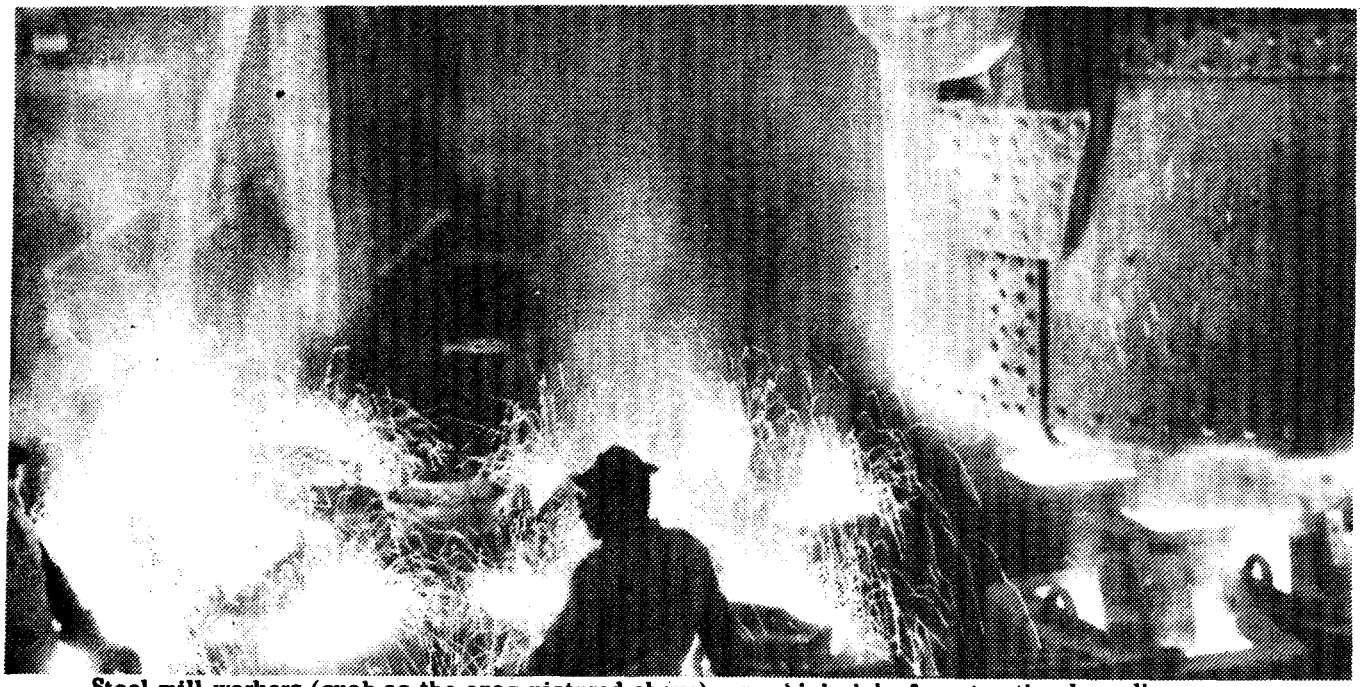
SYMPTOM	NOISY PLANT	VERY NOISY PLANT
Peripheral circulation problems	49%	62%
Heart Problems	16%	25%
Uncomfortable heart sensations	30.9%	47.2%
Heart disease	17.9%	27%
Lowered maximal blood pressure	7%	18%

SANITATION

The steel industry requires clean water for some of its processes. But for workers' wash-up facilities, polluted lake water is good enough, at least in the Calumet area. The shower water in mills there is oily and sandy and smells of fish. It changes color with the seasons, and sometimes workers have to pick pieces of dead fish out of their hair after they shower. Needless to say, bathing in such contaminated water can make you sick (in more ways than one).

FUMES

One of the worst health hazards in steel comes from various fumes and emissions given off dur-



Steel mill workers (such as the ones pictured above) run a high risk of contracting lung disease.

ing the steelmaking process. The worst offender in this respect is the coke plant. We will deal with the coke plant in depth below. Some other examples, however, are also killers.

- During the scarfing (conditioning) process, lead fumes are given off. Says one worker from Republic Steel's scarfing section, "Up until about 1964 all steel lead in it was scarfed outdoors. About 12 years ago a foreman yelled at me that I would get him fired if I tried to work on leaded steel inside the building." Now all types of steel, including leaded steel, are scarfed indoors. The worker describes the effects of lead fumes from scarfing: "During the summer time it makes your throat sore, burns your eyes, feels like pouring alcohol into open pores on your skin, and it gets into your bladder. It seems to burn when you urinate."**9**
- Another worker describes the situation in the area of the coke plant where by-products are made into profitable, salable materials. He says, "You have dust in here and gas. We have some stuff in here called naphthalene that is so strong you can smell it no matter how bad your nose is stopped up. It turns silver money brown in your pockets. This is where all the gas is piped from the ovens. One night a guy passed out in here and they had to take him to the hospital and pump the gas out of him."**10**
- Poisons in a gray smoke fill welding departments.

ASBESTOS

The following is what a doctor had to say about the use of asbestos by industry: He was speaking to a conference on safety held by the USWA.

"On my way to the airport this morning in New York I stopped off at the hospital and went ... to see John Evilege ... He's a member of Local 12 of the International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and Asbestos Workers. He's lying in a ward now with cancer in the right upper lobe, in the upper portion of the right lung. He's hardly responsive, and John is going to die.

"Mr. Evilege joined his local in 1927. It was a year when in Great Britain Dr. Cook described a woman who had died with scarred lungs after working for 20 years in an asbestos textile factory. And in the next year many other reports of similar diseases were recorded.

"...It was...1935 when Dr. Lynch in South Carolina reported that people exposed to this dust also tended to die of lung cancer.

"We now know that one out of every five asbestos workers in this country dies of lung cancer. We now know that one out of every 10 dies of a rare disease, rare for everyone else, called mesohyloma, a disease which lines the chest, or lines the abdomen, and is invariably fatal. We have never seen a case recover yet. Today in New York one out of every ten members of this union dies of this tragic disease. One out of every 10 dies of cancer of the colon and stomach, because when you inhale dust you also swallow it, as you know.

"One out of every 10 dies of scarred lungs, asbestosis, pneumoconiosis. It is a disaster. (Ed. note: **this totals 50% of the work force!**) The tragedy is that **every one of these deaths was preventable.** (our emphasis-ed.)

"As I flew here from New York, I thought to myself, how am I going to sign the death certificate. In New York, as in many other

ASBESTOS-COVERED MACHINERY AT TYLER, TEXAS FACTORY

Time, January 28, 1974

Death from Dust

When the Pittsburgh Corning Corporation closed its asbestos insulation plant in Tyler, Texas, two years ago, it did an unusually thorough job of cleaning up after itself. Some 60 workers spent a week scraping asbestos waste from machinery and depositing it in a nearby dump. Then another crew took over. Ceilings and walls were steam cleaned. Every piece of equipment in sight was scrubbed down; some machinery was disassembled and shipped to P.C.C.'s home office in Pittsburgh. What was left was cut up and buried. When the crew finished, all that remained of the plant were two dilapidated wooden buildings that had once seen service as Army barracks during World War II.

P.C.C.'s scorched-earth policy has left few visible reminders of the factory's 17 years in Tyler. But the scars from the plant's presence will not soon disappear. While producing insulation for the boilers and pipes of naval ships, workers in the plant were exposed to enormous quantities of asbestos dust, which, once inhaled, never leaves the lungs. Now, based on previous experience with asbestos-caused diseases, medical experts estimate that as many as 300 of the 869 employed at the plant since 1954 will die of asbestosis (a permanent and often progressive scarring of lung tissue from inhaled asbestos fibers), lung cancer or cancers of the colon, rectum or stomach.

Their deaths should come as no surprise to either company or Government officials. Doctors have long suspected that asbestos dust is hazardous; there has been ample documentation of increased incidence of lung disease and cancers among people exposed to the mineral. As early as 1961, Dr. Irving Selikoff, 59, of New York's Mount Sinai Hospital, and Dr. E. Cuyler Hammond, 61, of the American Cancer Society, confirmed the deadly relationship in studies of workers at a Paterson, N.J., asbestos plant. They documented their work in scientific papers and meetings. They also showed that even small quantities of asbestos fiber could be lethal. Selikoff studied a woman who died of mesothelioma, a cancer of the membrane that covers the lungs and lines the chest and abdomen. The woman's only contact with asbestos came when she washed the clothing of her husband, who worked in an asbestos plant.

After the work by Selikoff and others, P.C.C. officials ordered a study of the asbestos-dust hazard at Tyler in 1963. The report seriously underestimated the hazard. A 1966 dust survey found asbestos levels above recommended thresholds in many areas of the plant, and a 1967 survey by the U.S. Public Health Service's Division of Occupational Health confirmed that the levels were high, but did not warn of the health hazard. After a Labor Department study two years later reported the same conditions, respirators were issued to workers in the plant's dustiest areas. But, according to workers, at no time did P.C.C. officials tell them that they were exposed to a health hazard. "I even had one tell me that stuff, asbestos, is good for you," says J.C. Yandle, 48, a former employee. "He said you could eat it."

states, the doctor must sign. "I certify that this man died of natural causes." "11

Now, 35 years after the effects of asbestos was discovered, **the steel industry uses asbestos liners.12**

The hazards listed above are only a tiny percentage of the hazards in the steel industry. They don't include burns, unsafe equipment, heart, lung, skin, intestinal and other diseases caused by poisons in the workplace. Dr. J. William Lloyd published a detailed study of the long-term mortality of steelworkers in Allegheny County, Pennsylvania. Some of the results of this study are condensed in the charts printed at the end of this article. (See Appendix A.)

THE COKE PLANTS - A CASE OF PREMEDITATED RACISM MURDER

There is no more incriminating evidence of the need for a shorter work-week for steelworkers than the situation in the nation's coke plants. Working in a coke plant is one of the most hazardous jobs in the country. For coke plant workers, winning "30 for 40" is a life and death matter.

According to Dr. J. William Lloyd, who studied over 59,000 steelworkers employed in Allegheny Co., Pennsylvania between 1953 and 1961, "mortality from respiratory cancer for men employed in the coke plant is two times the rate observed generally among steelworkers."13 Dr. Lloyd points out that this is due to a threefold excess of respiratory cancer among non-white coke workers. In addition, Lloyd found that men working on top of the coke ovens run five times the predicted risk, and fulltime topside workers for five years or more, ten times the predicted risk of death by lung cancer.14

In order to understand these figures, here is a brief explanation of the coking process. Coke is used as a fuel in making steel. It is produced by burning coal at high temperatures. The coke plant is made up of batteries of coke ovens in which the coal is burnt, which stand side by side like books on a bookshelf. A larry car runs across the top of the battery to dump coal into lids on the top of the ovens.

There are three main work areas in the coke plant; coal handling, coke oven work itself (this includes larry car driver, lidman, who opens the lids on the coke ovens, quenching operator, etc.), and work in the by-product plant. The function of the by-product plant is to recover gas and chemical products from the coke oven emissions. For example, gas for household and industrial use is obtained here and sold by the steel companies. The effects of the gases in this plant were described by a by-product plant worker on p. 6.

The reason for the threefold excess of respiratory cancer among non-white coke workers is entirely due to RACISM. The most dangerous jobs are the jobs requiring the worker to be on top of the coke ovens. Black and Latin workers are given these killing, topside jobs by the steel bosses. Lloyd's study showed that while only 32% of the white workers in the coke plant were given oven jobs, 89% of the black and Latin workers were assigned to the ovens. (See Appendix B—Lloyd tables 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.) Lloyd commented that "we did not have a sufficient number of white men working at the top of the ovens in Allegheny County to draw any kind of conclusion about whether whites were getting the same effects."15 These figures now are closer to 95-100% of coke oven workers are minority workers.

The knowledge that working with burning coal causes cancer is not new. In 1775, a man named Percival Pott did a study of London chimney sweeps that showed that they were getting skin tumors at a rate many times that of the rest of London's population.16

MORE RECENTLY, A CZECHOSLOVAKIAN scientist Vaclav Masek, isolated a chemical called benzo (a) pyrene as the one which causes skin and lung cancer. "BAP" builds up in work clothes and cannot be washed out. Working around the stuff all your life, you are pretty sure to get skin cancer after 20 to 25 years, and lung cancer maybe sooner. According to Masek, "If it is not possible by technical means to prevent BAP content in the atmosphere from exceeding about 100 to 200 micrograms per 100 cubic meters, it may even become necessary to shorten the working time. The object is to limit the quantity of noxious inhalations breathed in during the working time, **especially after the sixth working hour of a shift.**"17 (Our emphasis)

Lloyd also noted that "the present estimates of long cancer mortality may be conservative since the average latent period for occupational lung cancers ranges from 15 to 25 years."18 In other words, many of the workers he studied,

"As the memorable twenty second of September approached a lurid and dramatic setting developed for the beginning of the great steel strike. Everywhere the steel companies made gigantic preparations to crush their aspiring workers back to slavery. The newspapers shrieked revolution. The whole country was a-tremble with anxiety and apprehension." *Wm. Z. Foster,* The Great Steel Strike and Its Lessons, *p. 96*

Steelworkers in 1919 didn't fall for the lies in the bosses' press

who had not died by the time of his study, may in fact die of lung cancer, too.

A Republic steel spokesman talking to a Chicago newspaper reporter typified the bosses' concern over this mass murder: "We have seen absolutely no statistical evidence that the employees of our coke plant have experienced any significantly different level of health problems than other employees in our plant or elsewhere in industry."**19**

Lung cancer is not the only coke plant killer. Lloyd also detailed deaths among coke workers due to heart disease, kidney, skin and other cancers, and other respiratory diseases. (See Appendix B.) Coal tar pitch emissions contain many poisonous chemicals in addition to BAP, which cause illnesses like pneumonia, bronchitis, laryngitis, tracheitis, edema, and emphysema. (See Appendix C.) But it is the chronic illnesses, those that develop slowly, like cancer, which are the hardest to detect when they start, the hardest to cure, and the hardest to get compensated for.

In addition to the fumes, coke oven workers are also subject to heart disease, caused by excessively hard work; illnesses resulting from extreme temperature changes—topside workers face heat up to 180° and work outside all year; "accidents" caused by fainting from breathing poison gases; burns from the flames that shoot out of the top of the ovens, and eye irritations from gases and flying particles.

All of these result in lost pay to coke workers and their families. The net result is that coke plant workers SELDOM LIVE TO RETIRE. The companies' only "feeling" about this is that it saves retirement pay.

The bosses know the results of working around coal-burning. They have known since 1775. The recent studies only make it more graphic. Yet steel bosses have done nothing to stop the murder at the coke ovens. Let the coke ovens chew up workers alive and spit them out when they are no longer PROFITABLE. This is the steel bosses' attitude. IT IS A CASE OF PREMEDITATED RACIST MURDER.

WHAT KILLS YOU AT WORK IS KILLING YOUR CHILDREN AT HOME

The poisons and dirt from the coke ovens are dumped daily into the communities that surround steel mills. This situation has caused numerous anti-pollution groups to aim their fire at the steel industry. It has caused the formation of groups like the Calumet-area Workers for Democracy (inspired by the miners), who explain, "We who work inside these industries as well as living in the immediate community are faced with working in conditions where we are exposed to high concentrations of contaminants and then going home and having it follow us there."**20**

The ill-effects of coke oven emissions are certainly not confined to the mills. In 1952, coal-burning smoke over London left 4,000 dead in four days in the notorious London Killer Smog. This is the same type of smog which hangs over Gary, Pittsburg and other steel centers. In 1948 in Denora, Pa., part of the Pitt Steel complex 20 people died one Halloween weekend and [illegible] out of a town of 14,000 got sick. A doctor said if the weather inversion had lasted 8 more hours, 2,000 would have died.**21**

According to the State of Indiana Air Pollution Control Code, these are the effects of the coke ovens' main pollutants:

For particulate emissions—

60 - damage to vegetation
80 - adverse health effects
150 - limited visibility

For sulfur dioxide (which combines with water to form sulfuric acid)—

ALERT: .10 parts per million - increased absenteeism, increased hospitalization of children and elderly people with respiratory disease, and decreased visibility to five miles

WARNING: .25 ppm - increased daily **deaths** healthy people suffer eye and respiratory irritations

EMERGENCY: .40 ppm - increase in bronchial deaths directly attributed to sulfur content in the air

The code does not say what the long-term effects are of breathing lower concentrations of these poisons. This is what one anti-pollution group from Pittsburg has to say about long term effects:

> "You and I won't live as long simply because of where we live, simply because we live in city areas where the pollution from steel mills and electric plants is greater... A lot of people didn't know that they had asthma or sinusitis... until they moved to Pittsburgh or Birmingham or Gary and their conditions were aggravated by the pollution...
>
> "Pollution also affects us in other little ways we take for granted, colds and sore throats. We actually get more of them and they last longer because of the pollution in the air we breathe. And the air is getting worse, not better.
>
> "Some experts are rather gloomy on this. They say at the rate we are going we have only fifteen years of good air left. Some are optimistic and say we have fifty years of good air left. Either way the dead end will be reached within the lifetime of any child born today unless something is done about it.
>
> "...and I might remind you when we are talking about air pollution generally there is one way in which it is different from air pollution inside the plant. What is inside hits you. The air pollution that is coming out on the community is hitting your wife and kids as well."**22**

MAYOR HATCHER IS COVER MAN FOR HIS BOSS FRIENDS

Local governments, true to their role as the bosses' handmaidens, are in cahoots with the steel companies in avoiding pollution control. For example, Indiana Air Pollution Control regulations call for a maximum opacity in visible emissions from industry of 40 percent. These standards are constantly being violated by Calumet area

mills. In fact, these readings at U.S. Steel and Inland Steel consistently run between 40 and 95 percent.**23** The fact that these standards exist in Northwest Indiana is due to mass pressure from the community.

The U.S. Steel Gary Works coke plant alone emits more than 200 tons of pollutants every day. That is more than two pounds for each man, woman and child in the city.24 **Ralph Nader points out that "the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare reports that at levels of only 100 micrograms per cubic meter persons over 50 years of age are subject to increased death rates and young children are likely to experience an increased rate of respiratory disease. City wide averages of particulate concentration are over 130 micrograms per cubic meter on an annual average. Levels are even higher in parts of the city where plants are particularly concentrated ... At times readings in Gary have reached or exceeded 400 micrograms per cubic meter, levels which can only be described as lethal."**25

SINCE THE CITY OF GARY PASSED ORDInances to control steel mill, and particularly coke plant, pollution, in 1970, nothing has changed. The city has granted one variance after another to the steel bosses. Last May, the courts gave U.S. Steel two months to submit plans for bringing the coke ovens under pollution controls by 1977 (they didn't want to go overboard!). U.S. Steel didn't meet the deadline and the court didn't do anything either.

In February of this year, Gary Mayor Richard Hatcher went to Pittsburg to meet with U.S. Steel bigwigs. The result of that meeting was another 18 month extension on pollution control at U.S. Steel's cement plant, and a **plan to make a plan** by the end of this year leading to "substantial compliance" by the coke ovens with the city clean air ordinance. J. David Carr, the superintendent of the Gary plant, said this study is "expected" to lead to compliance by 1975. Of course, Carr and Hatcher are more concerned with what they called a "spirit of cooperation" between both parties in controlling air pollution than in protecting the lives of Gary residents between now and the nebulous compliance date. Another aspect of this plan is that U.S. Steel is considering building a new smokeless coke battery which will eliminate nearly one-half of the present coke oven batteries. A smokeless battery would be fine, but Hatcher made no mention of what would happen to the jobs of the workers now employed in those coke batteries.**26**

Meanwhile, the steel industry is responsible for 85% of the pollution in Gary. (And 75% of it in Birmingham, 40% in Pittsburg.)**27**

THE "NO-TECHNOLOGY" ARGUMENT

The biggest argument the steel bosses use right now to avoid cleaning up the coke ovens is that the technology to make that possible does not exist. This is a lie. Following is an explanation of the main parts of the coking process and what can be done to control emissions in each one.

CHARGING

Charging means stoking the ovens with coal. It accounts for 60% of the pollution and dust in coke plant operations. There are three (and probably more) methods for controlling these emissions:

1) equipping the larry car with wet scrubbers. This will help eliminate dust and gas emissions. However, it would require building new ovens in some cases because of the weight it would add.
2) Larry car with closed coal ports. This was developed by the American Iron and Steel Institute (AISI) and is now in use at the Jones and Laughlin plant in Hazelton, Pa.
3) pipeline charging. This eliminates 98% of emissions from charging. It is used by the Allied Chemical Corporation in Ironton, Ohio. Mitsubishi Chemical of Japan, which is the largest coke producer in Japan and uses the pipeline method, estimates the cost of fitting pipeline devices to existing ovens at $14,500 per oven.**28**

PUSHING

Pushing refers to the process of pushing the coke out of the ovens into quenching cars after it is baked. It accounts for 30% of coke plant emissions.

There are two main causes of emissions during pushing: 1) "green" pushes. This means pushing the coke out too soon, a form of the steel bosses' greed in trying to get the ovens to work faster. 2) Plain old dust and gas coming up as the coke is pushed out. This can be relieved by pushing into a quenching car that has a hood on it. This hood can catch emissions and put them through a cleaning device before releasing them into the air. Mitsubishi claims to "have developed a technology for the complete prevention of coke dust and black smoke coming about when coke is pushed from the coke oven."**29** And observers of the Mitsubishi process say they can see no emissions during pushing. And U.S. Steel, the most insistent company as to lack of technology, has rights to charging and pushing technology developed by Mitsubishi.**30**

QUENCHING

Quenching, that is, pouring water over the finished coke, accounts for the remaining 10% of coke plant pollution. One control of the dust and grit rising from the quenching is the use of grit arrestors or baffles in the quench car. But probably the main culprit here is the use of contaminated water for quenching. Water is used which is so dirty it is not allowed to be dumped in streams or lakes. This causes chemicals like ammonia, phenol and cyanide to be released into the air. For example, two and a half million tons a day of contaminated water are used in quenching at the U.S. Steel mill in Clariton, Pa. This releases about one and a half tons of cyanide into

the air—in addition to numerous other pollutants.**31** These problems would be eliminated if clean water were used for quenching.

But the steel bosses still insist that no technology exists. Their organization, the American Iron and Steel Institute (AISI), petitioned the Secretary of Labor in June, 1971, "for relief from the occupational health standard for coal tar pitch volatiles . . . Specifically, AISI requests that the standard be revoked insofar as it applies to coke oven operations . . ." and they called for further study to result in new regulations. In the meantime, they suggested "that the Secretary require the use of certain controls including the use of respirators in coke oven operations."**32** In other words, the bosses want to patch up a leaky dam with bubble gum, and make the workers responsible for even that measure. Before going into the response of the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) to the AISI's request, let us look at the question of respirators.

Said one steel worker at a conference on coke oven hazards called by the Steelworkers Union: "The problem we have with these respirators is that there seems to be—under the safety and health act it is mandatory we wear these respirators. The problem I'm having in my local, which is in California close to Los Angeles where you have a combination of smog and it gets pretty hot in the summertime, and it is very difficult for us to wear this type of respirator. I think that the people that make the studies didn't go up to the coke ovens to see that you are working under this extreme heat condition, and you have this respirator on and you are just out of breath trying to keep that respirator on. My point is that might it not be more dangerous, more of a health hazard to wear that, and what safety measure is it protecting by wearing that respirator? Does it have anything to do with the tar pitch, because this respirator is a dust respirator . . . We are already having a lot of problems. I think the militancy will come up in our area that you better clean up the air before we wear that."**33**

These questions hit the nail on the head. The most dangerous chemicals go right through most dust respirators. And the difficulty in breathing caused by the respirators causes a worsening in the condition of workers who already suffer from lung or heart ailments.**34** Thus these things can do more harm than they do good.

The only halfway decent respirators cost $250 each, and no company is about to buy one of them for every coke worker.**35**

Another worker brought up a different problem caused by mandatory wearing of respirators: "Now because of these fellows having some type of a respiratory ailment or a heart condition, they cannot wear the respirator, so the company is throwing them out on the street. Two of these fellows don't have enough service to get a disability pension from the company."**36**

Taking into account all of these considerations, including the problems in using respirators, and knowledge of the existing technology for controlling coke plant emissions, OSHA obligingly changed the regulations for AISI. They now require: 1) mandatory use of respirators; 2) mandatory use of protective skin creams*; 3) provision for medical examination of anyone considered for employment in the coke plant; 4) periodic medical examinations for coke plant workers. The National Institute of Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH, the research arm of OSHA), was requested to study the matter of coke plant technology.**37** NIOSH has only just reported its findings, nearly two years later.

And so, with the blessings of the government, the steel bosses continue to trade human lives for profits in the coke plants.

OSHA: OR "HOW THE GOVERNMENT SERVES THE BOSSES"

With the rising tide of worker militancy in the sixties and seventies, the bosses' government has found itself pushed to respond—or at least appear to be responding. One result of this situation is the Occupational Safety and Health Act, passed by Congress in 1970, and the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA), which went into operation in 1971 under the U.S. Department of Labor.

OSHA was set up (supposedly) to investigate and prosecute violations of the Safety and Health Act. It might seem strange that the U.S. Congress would pass an act which seems so beneficial to the working class. But the behavior of OSHA gives a pretty clear answer to the question of "which side are you on?"

As of July, 1972, OSHA was budgeted for 550 inspectors nationwide: that is one inspector for every 7,300 workplaces.**38** After the first 5,000 inspections under the act, the average penalty in over 19,000 violations cited was **$18.39**

A Ralph Nader task force which looked into the operations of OSHA in 1972 had this comment:

"The Labor Department refuses to mount a sorely needed offensive, but rather sees the act in terms of loopholes supporting a policy of fashioning maximum relief for employers."**40**

The report points out that the act prohibits giving employers advance notice of an inspection, but gives the Secretary of Labor the right to make regulations concerning inspections. It goes on to say:

"Taking advantage of this opening, the secretary (James D. Hodgson) has proposed sweeping regulations permitting advance notice of inspections, Thus mocking the intent of the law and the testimony of workers describing the abuses of advance notice. Hence, in many instances companies will still be able to mount a temporary cleanup before the inspector arrives."**41**

The idea that this action actually mocks the underlying intent of the law must, of course, be challenged. Congress knows that strong wording will look good, and weak enforcement will be the true measure of the law.

The petition of the American Iron and Steel Institute to OSHA to change the regulations on coke plant emissions (see above), is a sharp example of how OSHA is actually used to serve

* We have seen no research to the effect that skin creams will protect workers from getting skin cancer.

Naugatuck, Connecticut -- Militant metal casting workers, members of United Steel Workers Local 1558, overturn car containing two scabs who attempted to enter the plant. These workers have been on strike against the Eastern Company in Naugatuck since October 15th.

the bosses in maintaining unhealthy and unsafe conditions.

In another instance, OSHA changed the regulation about the quality of shower water (see above). Originally, the act called for using drinking-quality water only for showers. But just as soon as workers began filing complaints about the foulness of their shower water, OSHA changed the regulation to permit the use of polluted water for showers.42 OSHA was recently forced by unions and rank-and-file workers' groups to reverse that decision again. This means that workers will be able to complain to OSHA on the quality of their shower water again. How long it will take OSHA to act on these complaints, and the steel industry to comply, however, is another question. (A recent OSHA inspection of U.S. Steel Gary Works is expected to result in a citation on shower water.)

Then there is the question of what OSHA considers to be an "imminent danger" worthy of citing the company for. A delegate to the USWA conference on coke ovens had this to say:

"I have talked to Director Peter Schmidt in Columbus, Ohio, and Director Bowman from Cleveland, Ohio. The interpretation of imminent danger from them was that if you were walking down the street and a man walked up to you and stuck a gun in your gut, you were not in imminent danger. If he cocked the trigger, you were still not in imminent danger. The only time that you were in imminent danger was when the bullet was discharged from the gun. Henry Hale, another inspector, told us that if you were walking down the street and a brick wall was tilting very badly, you were not in imminent danger, you were not in danger until that brick wall was falling. Now in Warren, Ohio, we had severe safety standards that weren't being lived up to down there. We called the inspectors in and we discovered that the catwalk fifty feet in the air, with fifty feet of handrail missing immediately above the BOF (Basic Oxygen Furnace: ec.) slide pit wasn't an imminent danger situation. I consider that to be an imminent danger, and that is why I called the federal inspector. I would like to know just what the hell is imminent danger in the eyes of the federal program."43

You might say: well, the problem with OSHA is that the Nixon administration is not enforcing it right. There may be a bit of truth to that, but it misses the main point.

OSHA is just another example of the fact that it is the big bosses who run and control every aspect of the U.S. government. OSHA was not **meant** to be a tool for workers to use to get better working conditions. It was meant to serve the bosses in two ways: 1) by diverting workers into relying on OSHA to solve their safety grievances, instead of relying on worker unity on the job; and 2) to form an "official" and "legal" cover for unsafe conditions forced on workers by their employers.

There is a violent class war going on in the

U.S. today, and the situation with on-the-job health and safety is a clear example of it. 300,000 Americans died in World War II and 700,000 were wounded. **In the 25 years that followed** (according to greatly under-rated federal government figures), **industrial "accidents" killed 400,000 and disabled nearly 50,000,000.44**

Those figures don't include the thousands—millions—who died from diseases brought on by job conditions and industrial pollution. They don't include the injured workers the steel industry (for example) brings to work, even if it takes an ambulance and a stretcher to do it, to cut down on official "lost-time" accidents.

There is war going on in the steel industry and in all U.S. industry. And the way out is not through OSHA or any other fake government plan, but through fighting that war all out—and **winning!**

Communists have always pointed out that class war is a constant thing under capitalism. They have also pointed out that any government in this day and age can only serve one class of people: either the bosses (capitalism) or the workers (socialism).

What we need in this country is to completely overthrow and do away with the bosses' government, which perpetrates violence every day on the working class. We should set up a system of workers' rule which will end the drive for profit that is the root cause of unsafe conditions on the job. Progressive Labor Party advocates organizing a revolutionary movement behind communist leadership to accomplish this.

However, OSHA cannot and should not be ignored by workers now. Rather, organized rank-and-file workers groups **should** file complaints with OSHA and push them as far as they can. (See Appendix D, Employee Rights Under OSHA.) But filing complaints must be followed by direct action to alleviate the conditions—otherwise nothing will happen.

For example, now that OSHA has changed the standard on shower water to require that clean, drinkable water be used, it is not enough just to file a complaint. It may take months or even years before a steel company will take action to comply with the regulation. How many workers will get sick in the meantime? Or take the example of the catwalk without a railing—how many workers will have to die or become disabled before OSHA considers something an "imminent danger?" But if workers organize to take action themselves—organized refusal to do unsafe work, walkouts, etc.—then you will see a change fast.

So do both: file with OSHA, and rely on workers' unity to win. Each hesitation or sellout of workers' needs by OSHA will help to expose it more as an arm of the bosses.

USWA LEADERSHIP: SPEARHEAD OF THE ULTIMATE SELLOUT

> "We say that this sort of lip service to industrial safety and health is inadequate. We, as a Union, won't be satisfied until the human carnage in our mines, our plants and mills is totally eliminated.
>
> You know, the terrifying fact is that many of our members have been working in death traps—and many were not even aware of it. Hospitals in every major industrial area are littered with diseased, maimed and mangled bodies of the victims of these conditions.
>
> Many more, condemned to a bed-ridden life at home, are unseen, helpless cripples. Still others, with spent bodies, haunt our streets. They are powerful reminders of the terrible price that we as workers pay for what is called "industrial progress."**45**

Whose words? Those of I.W. Abel, president of the United Steelworkers of America. Abel's words paint a graphic picture of the results of the conditions in the steel industry. But does he mean them?

The quote above is from a speech Abel made in March of 1971. From the sound of the speech, you might expect that a sharp struggle has been launched by the International in the two years since them.

The fact is, that little or no struggle of steelworkers for better on-the-job conditions has been organized by the USWA. And although studies and plain common sense both show that the bosses' racism is killing black and Latin workers at fantastic rates, the international has done nothing to fight racism in job allocations.

Here is the USWA's record (in part):

*Rejected petition of OSHA not followed up by organizing on the job

*No contract provisions for safety strikes

*Refusal of dangerous work allowed in the contract, but in practice only possible by taking loss in pay (the company sends you home if you refuse to do a dangerous job)

*No distribution to workers of the facts uncovered at the union's coke oven conference, no organizing since then to change coke oven conditions

*No fight against racist dangerous-job allocations

*The clincher: The unprecedented NO-STRIKE Contract signed by Abel a year early this spring allowing for impossibility of a strike over **anything!**

Even the famous liberal Ralph Nader was forced to point out the glaring weakness in the USWA's record on safety: "Organized labor has not seized the opportunities (sic) presented by the 1970 Occupational Safety and Health Act and is content to gripe at the Labor Dept. instead of mobilizing the support and participation of the rank and file and of the general public."**46**

All of the USWA politicians have promised to do something about health and safety during their campaigns for union office. Witness the statements of Sam Evett in the recent race for District 31 Director that he would use "whatever means necessary to improve conditions for our coke plant employees."

At both the Coke Oven conference and the September, 1972 Delegate Convention, resolutions were pushed by delegates, and passed, for a shorter work week to obtain relief from bad conditions. In fact, at the delegate convention, the

wording of Resolution Number 12, Safety and Health, was even stronger:

"The right to immediate relief from unsafe jobs without loss of pay must be provided by contract. In certain instances, shorter periods of exposure to industrially hazardous occupations must be provided through adequate relief time from dangerous jobs. To the extent that legislation and collective bargaining fail to provide the necessary protection for the safety and health of our members, **the alternative of the strike to achieve adequate safety and health conditions must remain.**"45 (our emphasis)

This is clearly what the rank and file wants and needs. Here is what some union officials at the coke oven conference had to say about how to conduct this fight:

- As Steelworkers we are used to hazards and we just work at it, and somehow or other we make most of them disappear." Joe Odorcich, District 15 Director and Conference chairman

- "I would remind you this morning that none of these changes that we have brought about have come through one conference, or have they come through one set of negotiations or have they come through just some casual conversation. All of the progress that we have made **have come about through a series of conferences, discussions, negotiations,** et cetera." Pres. I.W. Abel (our emphasis)
- We do it at the collective bargaining table; we do it in the legislative halls of Congress; we do it through creating a better understanding and more pressures through conferences such as this . . ." Dist. 15 Director Joe Odorcich
- Do a political job in November and get rid of the administration that is making a mockery out of OSHA . . ." Dist. 15 Director Joe Odorcich

In other words—talk, talk and more talk. And if talking isn't enough, elect a new president of the United States: maybe that will help.

The failure of the USWA leadership to fight the rampant racism in job allocations is a good indication of which side they are on. The figures showing that at least 90% of the topside coke oven jobs are assigned to minority workers, while many skilled jobs are 90%-100% white, are a clear indictment of the bosses' killing racism. Companies follow a policy of hiring whites off the streets for skilled jobs, rather than posting job openings as the contract stipulates. But the USWA leadership has done nothing about these things.

They have failed to publicize the facts. They have failed to attack the biggest division that exists in their union, the biggest drawback to fighting unity of steelworkers: racism. They have failed to explain the fact that **all** workers suffer from racism's divisive effects. To build a truly fighting union means fighting against racism in job allocations, and for preferential hiring and upgrading of minority workers in the skilled trades.

What do rank and file steelworkers think of this blatant hypocrisy in the union officialdom? Again from the coke oven conference:

- "And I am really surprised to learn from other people that they are having problems and we don't even read about it in our International paper. We don't read anything about the coke plant problems. And I would like to suggest that we would all like to read about the other coke plants and learn what their problems are, too." Unidentified delegate from Chicago Republic Steel

"I came overyresspecially to talk about coke oven problems, because we have problems existing in our area forimanyiqears and we have felt that the International has not in fact done what they could to bring about some kind of relief."

Delegate John Farrell, Local 2610,Dist. 8

- Delegate Warren McKinney of Local 1375 said toward the end of the conference: "We heard a lot of statistics here today and yesterday. I have been working in the coke plants for about 26 years, and it has scared me half to death. I don't want to go back in there. What I would like to know is what immediate relief have those that possibly have the time that I have and have possibly contracted these types of diseases?"
- The answer given this man by Chairman Odorcich was this: "About the most immediate relief that I could suggest that would be available would be that after we have these hearings with Senator Schweiker's group, hopefully something will come out of those where there will be some direction from his group to OSHA to move ahead on these things. The other immediate relief would be through the union itself, as I suggested before, during the coming negotiations, and two years moves real quick."

YES, MR. ODORCICH, TWO YEARS CAN MOVE all too fast if you have lung cancer.

Workers at a coke oven in Monessen came up with a much more immediate answer. They reported in for work every day for seventy days—and went home without working each day, declaring that they were being required to work under abnormally hazardous conditions (under Section 14-c of the Pittsburg-Wheeling contract). The company tried everything to stop this **safety strike,** but nothing worked. Workers in other locals contributed money and time to support the Monessen workers. The end result was that the company decided to spend $1,000,000 to fix up the coke plant. They somehow "found" money that they had said didn't exist before the workers took action.

This is the type of action a real union would organize all over the place.

The degree of safety in a steel mill, like anywhere else, is directly related to the bosses' push for "productivity." Productivity means **speed-up** and speed-up means inadequate maintenance. It was a coke oven gas leak unfixed for several years that blew last March at Inland Steel, killing one and burning five others. In 1972, three workers died at Inland Steel in East Chicago. For the first three months of 1973, three have already died there. "Productivity" is what causes the so-called "green push" in the coke plant which causes so many poison gases to be released into

the air.

In short, unions should make an all-out attack on the new productivity drive. But the USWA has done just the opposite: it is sitting on company "productivity committees" across the country. And this is not naivete—it is part of the well-planned, boss-union strategy for "peace in the mills" which has resulted in the incredible no-strike agreement.

In an article headlined "Peace in the Mills? Steel Firms, Union Leaders Look for a Way to Bargain Without the Threat of Strikes," The **Wall Street Journal** spells out this strategy:

"The United Steelworkers of America, and the major steel companies are quietly gearing up a campaign that could drastically alter the shape of contract bargaining in their important industry by eliminating the threat of strikes.... they admit to working against the clock to find... 'a better way to settle our differences than trial by combat.'

"It's to that end that a jointly sponsored educational campaign will be kicked off next week as mills across the country begin showing a film entitled "Where's Joe?" which bluntly equates the threat of a strike with the loss of jobs. Later the message is to be carried into workers' homes by way of comic books, a comic strip, educational television and possibly even a game..."**48**

For those who haven't seen the movie (it has already been shown on TV), here is a **Journal** description of it:

"First the camera catches the high technology of a new Japanese steel mill, then it races through a Volkswagen assembly line in Germany and finally focuses on a group of workers entering a U.S. steel mill.

"Suddenly the faces begin to fade: men disappear from the work force. The missing Joes, says the film's announcer, are the men whose jobs have been lost to foreign competition."**49**

This is not only an open sellout of steelworkers' right to strike, it pushes the most open and vicious racism against foreign workers, especially Japanese workers. The often-learned lesson of the need for working class unity **across national boundaries,** against **all bosses** is submerged by the USWA into a class-traitor position of imperialist patriotism. The USWA leaders want to help their boss friends make sure that workers will be on the bosses' side if a war develops. Progressive Labor Party has taken the lead in condemning this "educational campaign" and the movie "Where's Joe?" and in calling for revolutionary internationalism of steel workers and all workers.

The no-strike pact which has resulted from this "educational" campaign represents a complete sellout of steelworkers' needs, and is a wedge driven into the whole labor movement. The USWA leadership has become the spearhead of the bosses' latest attack on U.S. workers.

The USWA leaders' attitude about fighting on safety and health issues naturally follows the same class-collaborator line. They try to divert workers from filing and following through grievances, or taking direct action, into just filing complaints with OSHA. Then you are supposed to sit back and wait for OSHA to act. And if it doesn't act right, you always have the option of trying to elect a new federal administration. Of course, if you lose an arm or get lung cancer while you're waiting, that's too bad.

Abel and his cronies are trying to get steel-

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, Friday, February 16, 1973

Peace in the Mills?

By MICHAEL DRAPKIN AND JACK MORRIS
Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

PITTSBURGH—The United Steelworkers of America and the major steel companies are quietly gearing up a campaign that could drastically alter the shape of contract bargaining in their important industry by eliminating the threat of strikes.

At the moment "there's no agreement—tentative or otherwise" to modify, or eliminate, the union's traditional right to strike, both sides insist. But they admit to working against the clock to find what R. Heath Larry, vice chairman of U.S. Steel and the industry's top labor negotiator, calls "a better way to settle our differences than trial by combat."

The most likely alternative is some form of arbitration or an early settlement that ties wage hikes directly to the industry's productivity gains. But before such courses can even be discussed, I. W. Abel, who was reelected Tuesday as president of the 1.4 million-member union, must convince his rank-and-file members that a change is necessary.

It's to that end that a jointly sponsored educational campaign will be kicked off next week as mills across the country begin showing a film entitled "Where's Joe?", which bluntly equates the threat of a strike with the loss of jobs. Later the message is to be carried into the Steelworkers' homes by way of comic books, a comic strip, educational television and possibly even a game, tentatively called "Hedge," after the practice of "hedge-buying" of steel in anticipation of a strike.

Steel bosses use movie to prevent strikes.

workers to just live from day to day without fighting for a better life—all to preserve "peace" in the mills. If you don't fight, they say, this will insure security for you and your children.

THESE ARE ALL VICIOUS, HYPOCRITICAL lies designed to cover up the torture, the carnage inflicted upon the working class by the bosses. Steel bosses are murderers: racist murderers. And the attempt by Abel and the USWA leadership to foist compulsory arbitration on steelworkers makes them accomplices. They are some of the very ones responsible for the misery Abel described so vividly at the Safety Convention.

They call for "peace in the mills." Peace—yes—**for the bosses only;** so the bosses may continue their exchange of human blood for profits unmolested.

30 HOURS WORK FOR 40 HOURS PAY FIGHT THE BOSSES ALL THE WAY!

The fact is, there can be no peace in the mills, or anywhere else, until the bosses are unseated from power and the working class takes over the rule of the country. And the first step is to take the union away from the bosses' hirelings who run it now and make it a real instrument of class warfare. This is the **only** path to security or safety in the mills.

But how can this be done? It won't be any easy job, but here are some suggestions on how to proceed:

1) grieve every safety issue
2) follow up on each grievance with petitions, witnesses, or whatever is required
3) discuss the need to "take matters in your own hands" with your fellow workers: organize a caucus
4) when you can, use direct action as well as taking the "legel" steps (filing a grievance, or filing a complaint with OSHW—such as organized refusal to work a dangerous job, like workers at Monnessen did)
5) organize for changes in the national contract:
   - no loss of pay for refusing hazardous work
   - the right to strike over safety issues at the local level
   - the right to ratify national contracts
   - no binding arbitration!
   - most important— THE SHORTER WORK WEEK—30 HOURS WORK FOR 40 HOURS PAY!
6) fight for preferential hiring and upgrading for minority workers in the skilled trades

In many ways, "30 for 40" is the key thing to organize for. First of all, it will give immediate relief from exposure to hazardous conditions. It will mean the possibility of more jobs opening for unemployed workers, with four 6-hour shifts instead of three 8-hour ones. It will mean more time for relaxation, recreation, family life—and for organizing the fight to win it all!

But most important, building a nationwide "30 for 40" movement in the shops will provide the kind of working class unity, the strength and power that will make the bosses shiver in their boots.

If you are the wife of a steelworker or a resident in a steel community, you have as much to gain by this fight as a steelworker. Help organize the 30 for 40 campaigns. Or there are organizations—like Group Against Smog and Pollution (GASP) in Pittsburg, and Community Action to Reverse Pollution (CARP) in Gary—already organized at least in part to fight the big steel companies. These groups will be most effective if they mobilize community sentiment to ally with steelworkers.

Workers on the job have the key power over the bosses, the power to stop production and profit. Unity of all working class and pro-working class forces combined—that means power to win it all.

To accomplish this unity, steelworkers are faced with the task of building Progressive Labor Party, the revolutionary communist party of the working class, in the big steel centers. Whatever else is done—grievances, walkouts, caucuses, etc. —the key to winning is organizing a strong communist leadership in the industry. Communists are needed to provide the long-run outlook of tying all these struggles into a class-conscious effort to overthrow the bosses. Without communist ideology, leadership, and class unity, workers can keep fighting on and on and never conquer the bosses. The communist party is the cutting edge of the working class movement.

APPENDICES

INTRODUCTION

Dr. J. Wm. Lloyd did a study entitled "Long-Term Mortality Study of Steelworkers," published in the **Journal of Occupational Medicine,** in 1967-71 (series of 5)—which is considered the classic now and is undisputed. That is why some of the appendices are charts from his study.

Some of the specific material can be of use to medical workers and others involved in safety and health struggles in steel and other industries (especially A, B and C).

Appendix D (rights under OSHA) is included for possible use by people in TV's filing grievances or otherwise involved through OSHA.

APPENDIX A

TABLES FROM LONG TERM MORTALITY STUDY

(All Steelworkers)

APPENDIX B

LLOYD TABLES

(Specifically on coke oven workers)

APPENDIX C

DANGER LEVELS OF VARIOUS CHEMICALS EMITTED IN COKING PROCESS, AND THEIR EFFECT ON HEALTH

(Reprinted from "A Fact Sheet on Coke Ovens," published by the Calumet Environmental and Occupational Health Committee, 5305 Hohmer, Suite 505, Hammond, Ind.)

APPENDIX D

FROM UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA
SAFETY AND HEALTH DEPARTMENT

EMPLOYEE'S RIGHTS UNDER OSHA-70
by
Section and Regulation

SECTION 6—OCCUPATIONAL SAFETY AND HEALTH STANDARDS

1. The right to petition the Secretary of Labor to commence procedures for amending a standard or promulgating a new one, which assures the greatest protection of the Safety and Health of the affected employees. Section 6(b)(1); Regulation 1911.3

2. The right to submit written objections or comments on a proposed standard that has been published by the Secretary. Section 6(b)(2); Regulation 1911.11(b)(3)

3. The right to submit, in writing, a request for a hearing concerning a proposed standard, and the right to participate in the hearing. Section 6(b)(3); Regulations 1911.11(b)(4) and 1911.11(d)(5)

4. The right to be notified by the employer, if he (the employer) requests a temporary or permanent variance from a standard. Temporary Variance: Section 6(B); Regulation 1905.10(b)(9); Permanent Variance: Section 6(d); Regulation 1905.11(b)(5)

5. The right to petition the Secretary for a hearing to evaluate the request by the employer for a temporary or permanent variance and to participate in the hearing. Temporary Variance: Section 6(B); Regulation 1905.10(b)(10); Permanent Variance: Section 6(d); Regulation 1905.11(b)(7)

6. The right of any person who may be adversely affected by a standard issued under Section

6 to challenge the validity of such standard in the United States Court of Appeals, provided it is challenged within sixty days after it has been promulgated. Section 6(f)

SECTION 7—ADVISORY COMMITTEES: ADMINISTRATION

1. The right to be represented on the National Advisory Committee established to advise the Secretary on matters relating to administration of the Act. Section 7(a)(1); Federal Register, December 12, 1971, pg. 23277

2. The right to be represented on the Standards-Setting Advisory Committee established to assist the Secretary in his standard-setting functions. Section 7(b); Regulation 1912.11 (a)(2)

SECTION 8—INSPECTIONS, INVESTIGATIONS, AND RECORDKEEPING

1. The right to have the employer show you a copy of the Law, Standards, Rules and Regulations promulgated under this Act. Section 8(c)(1); Regulation 1903.2(c)

2. The right to examine the annual summary, which is a total of all injuries that have occurred in the plant in the previous year; (other than minor first-aid cases). The employer must post this summary by February first of each year. Section 8(c)(2); Regulation 1904.5(b)*

   NOTE: Local and International Unions are considered employers, and must comply with all Recordkeeping and Posting Requirements.

3. The right to observe monitoring or measuring of employee's exposure to potentially toxic materials or harmful physical agents, which are required to be monitored under a standard, and have access to these records. Section 8(c)(3)

4. The right to have the employer notify any employee who has been or is being exposed to toxic materials or harmful physical agents in concentrations or levels which exceed those prescribed by a standard. Section 8(c)(3)

5. The right to accompany the OSHA Compliance Officers during the physical inspection of any workplace for the purpose of aiding such inspection. Section 8(e); Regulation 1903.8(a)

6. The right to request a special inspection if any employee feels the Company is violating a safety standard or danger that threatens serious physical harm, and the right to have their name withheld from the employer if they so desire. Section 8(f)(1); Regulation 1903.11(a)

7. The right of any employee who has requested a special inspection to be notified, in writing, if the Area Director determines that no danger or violation exists, and an inspection is not necessary. Also, the employee can request of the Regional Administrator, in writing, for an informal hearing concerning the Area Director's determination that an inspection is not needed. The employee must send a copy of this request to his employer by certified mail. Section 8(f)(1); Regulation 1903.12(a)

8. The right of any employee to inform the Compliance Officer, during the inspection of the plant, either verbally or in writing, of any violations of any standard, rule or regulation they feel exist. Verbal Complaint: Section 8(f)(2); Regulation 1903.10; Written Complaint: Section 8(f)(2); Regulation 1903.11(c)

   NOTE: If a verbal complaint is given, the employee will not be given the following right, No. 9.

9. The right to be notified, in writing, if the Compliance Officer fails to issue a citation of violation after an inspection. Also, the employee can request, in writing, for an informal hearing for an explanation as to why the citation was not issued. The employee must send a copy of this request to his employer by certified mail. Section 8(f)(2); Regulation 1903.12(a)

SECTION 9—CITATIONS

1. The right of the complaining party to receive a copy of any citation or notice of de minimis violation. Section 9(b); Regulation 1903.14(c)

SECTION 10—PROCEDURE FOR ENFORCEMENT

1. The right of the employee to file a notice with the Secretary, alleging that the period of time fixed in the citation for the abatement of the violation is unreasonable; providing it is contested within fifteen working days. Section 10(c); Regulation 1903.17(b)

2. The right to participate at any hearing before the Review Commission when the employer has contested a citation, or when the employee has contested the abatement period. Section 10(c); Regulation 2200.5(a)

SECTION 11—JUDICIAL REVIEW

1. The right of any person adversely affected or aggrieved by an order of the Review Commission (in regards to a contested citation) may obtain a review of such order in the appropriate United States Court of Appeals by filing in such Court, within sixty days following the issuance of such order. Section 11(a)

2. The right that no employee shall be discharged or in any manner be discriminated against, because such employee has filed any complaint or instituted any proceeding related to this Act, provided he files a complaint with the Secretary no later than thirty days after the discriminating act has taken place. Section 11(c)(1); Regulation 1903.11(d)

SECTION 13—PROCEDURES TO COUNTERACT IMMINENT DANGERS

1. The right to be informed as soon as a Compliance Officer concludes that conditions or practices constitute an imminent danger. Section 13(c); Regulation 1903.13

2. The right of any employee who may be injured because the Secretary arbitrarily or capriciously failed to abate an imminent danger, to bring action against the Secretary in the appropriate Federal Court to compel the Secretary to abate the imminent danger and seek other relief if he is injured. Section 13(d)

SECTION 20—RESEARCH AND RELATED ACTIVITIES

1. The right of any employee representative to submit a written request to the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, as to whether any substance normally found in the place of employment has potentially toxic effects in such concentrations as used or found, and the right to have these names withheld from the employer, if they so desire. Section 20(a)(6); Regulation 85.3(b)(1)(ii)

2. The right to accompany the NIOSH Officer during the Physical inspection of any workplace for the purpose of aiding such inspection. Section 20(b); Regulation 85.9(a)

3. The right to be notified, in writing, of the determination as to whether the toxic substance is harmful to the employee's health. Section 20(a)(6); Regulation 85.11(d)

SECTION 27—NATIONAL COMMISSION ON STATE WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION LAWS

1. The right to be represented on the Workmen's Compensation Study Committee established to study all State Workmen's Compensation Laws in order to determine if such laws provide an adequate, prompt and equitable system of compensation for injuries or death arising out of or in the cause of employment. Section 27(c)(1)

COMPLIANCE OPERATIONS MANUAL

On January 4, 1972, the Labor Department released a book entitled "Compliance Operations Manual." This manual is being used as a guide by Compliance Officers during inspections, writing citations, etc. We feel this is a very useful book for all Local Unions to purchase. The price is $2.00 per copy. Send check or money order with your order to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402

RECORDKEEPING REQUIREMENTS

Internationals and Local Unions are required to keep records of all injuries to Officers and Committeemen who are injured while performing a service for the Union. To obtain copies of this booklet, write to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, 441 "G" Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20212. There is no charge for this booklet.

GENERAL NOTE

After an Act is passed by Congress, the head of the responsible Federal Agency issues rules and regulations to implement it. Such rules must be published in the Federal Register, and they will then have the effect of law. These regulations set forth in detail those items provided by the law but not spelled out.

The number and the length of the regulations prohibit us from being able to reproduce them. We are providing a list, by numbers, of the important regulations that have been published as of March 17, 1972.

* NOTE: Write to USWA for fuller list of rights.

FOOTNOTES

1 *Gary Post-Tribune* Mar. 12, 1973 page B-1
2 I.W. Abel in speech to Second International Safety Conference of the USWA, held in Chicago, Mar. 1971 page 3 of published report
3 Same as #2
4 A. Schwartz at same Conference page 29 of report
5 Don Paulk in *Calumet Safety & Health News,* No. 2, Jan. 1973 (publication of Calumet Environmental & Occupational Health Committee)
6 Speech by Wm. H. Walden, Jr. (of CEOHC) at Safety and Health Conference sponsored by the Lake and Parks Counties (Indians) AFL-CIO Central Labor Union. May 24, 1972
7 Same as #6
8 Information in this section is from CEOHC pamphlet "Industrial Noise & Your Health" available at: CEOHC, 5305 Hohman Ave., Suite 505, Hammond, Ind.
9 Ernest Hayes, Republic Steel billet operator, quoted in the *Chicago Son-Times* Dec. 18, 1972 page 5
10 Willie Matthews, helper, from same article as #9
11 Dr. Irving J. Selihoff, speech to USWA Safety Conference (same as #2) pages 23-24 of report
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13 Dr. J. Wm. Lloyd, "Long-Term Mortality Study of Steelworkers" published by *Journal of Occupational Medicine* in five parts: June, 1969; Aug. 1969; Oct. 1969; May 1970; Feb. 1971 From part 5
14 Same as #13
15 Lloyd speech to USWA Conference on Coke Ovens held June, 1972 page 68 of published report
16 Same as #13
17 Vaclav Masek, "Benzo (a) pyrene in the Workplace Atmosphere of Coal and Pitch Coking Plants," *Journal of Occupational Medicine*, April 1971 page 193
18 I. Wm. Lloyd quoted in *Chicago Sun-Times,* same as #9
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21 Arthur Gorr, Vice President of Group Against Smog and Pollution at USWA Coke Oven Conference
22 Same as #21
23 Same as #20
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25 Same as #24
26 Material taken from *Gary Post-Tribune,* Feb. 22, 1973 page 1
27 *Wall Street Journal* Nov. 30, 1972
28 Information on control of emissions during coking process is from CEOHC "A Fact Sheet on Coke Ovens"
29 CEOHC "A Fact Sheet on Coke Ovens"
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31 Arthur Gorr same as #21
32 *Federal Register,* OSH Administration, Vol. 36, No. 175 Sept. 9, 1971
33 Delegate F.C. Moreno, Local 2869, at USWA Coke Oven Conference
34 CEOHC pamphlet "Lung Damage from Industrial Pollution"
35 Same as #34
36 Delegate George Meyers, USWA Staff Rep., at USWA Coke Oven Conference
37 Same as #32
38 CEOHC "Industrial NOISE and Your Health" page 9
39 Report of Ralph Nader task force, co-authored by Assoc. Prof. Joseph A. Page and Mary-Win O'Brien, reported in *Chicago Sun-Times,* April 16, 1972 page 66
40 Same as #39
41 Same as #39
42 *Calumet Safety & Health News* No. 2, Jan. 1973 page 3
43 Delegate Thomas Fender, Local 1375, at USWA Coke Oven Conference page 189
44 Rick Atkins, Dir. of Environmental & Health Services, at USWA Safety Conference (see #2) page 27 of report
45 I.W. Abel address to USWA Safety Conference (#2)
46 Same as #39
47 *Occupational Safety & Health News* No. 1, Nov.. 1972 page 10
48 *Wall Street Journal* Feb. 16, 1973
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Trotsky: Just Another Right-Winger

TROTSKYISM, THE VANGUARD OF THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY BOURGEOISIE

On the occasion of its 75th anniversary, **Esquire** magazine assembled a group of so-called "greatest writers of the 20th Century." Actually, there is nothing of an artistic or any other nature that distinguishes this group from any group of bourgeois authors except that this is the group that has appealed to the wealthy snobs who "determine" our literary tastes. Fittingly, Leon Trotsky was amongst these. We say fittingly, because Trotsky is undistinguished as a writer and his career was a series of failures in practice and rebuffs from those who knew him best. But Trotsky had one success—the North American bourgeoisie loved him; they lauded his empty thoughts; reprinted his inane but voluminous scribblings and built him an image as "revolutionary" denied him by those who were in a position to better judge his work. Trotsky was the first Madison Avenue-made "revolutionary." Why the U.S. bourgeoisie hailed Trotsky while the Russian workers scorned him will be the subject of this article. We have to apologize to the reader for spending your time on one who is basically a nonentity. Even among **revisionist** writers and leaders, Trotsky is dwarfed by people like Mao-Tse-Tung, Rosa Luxembourg, Karl Kautsky and Mikael Bakunin. These four, though they were often wrong in theory and usually opportunist in practice evinced in their writings a certain depth of thought and in their revolutionary practice at times a certain honesty and consistency that is entirely absent from Trotsky's life and writings; the latter owes his fame entirely to Madison Avenue.

I. TWO DIFFERENT LINES ON THE QUESTION OF IMPERIALIST WAR

After his expulsion from the world communist movement, Trotsky wrote in all the bourgeois journals that he was virtually the only revolutionary internationalist around. In point of fact, Trotsky bitterly fought the line of revolutionary internationalism pursued by Lenin and revolutionary communists.

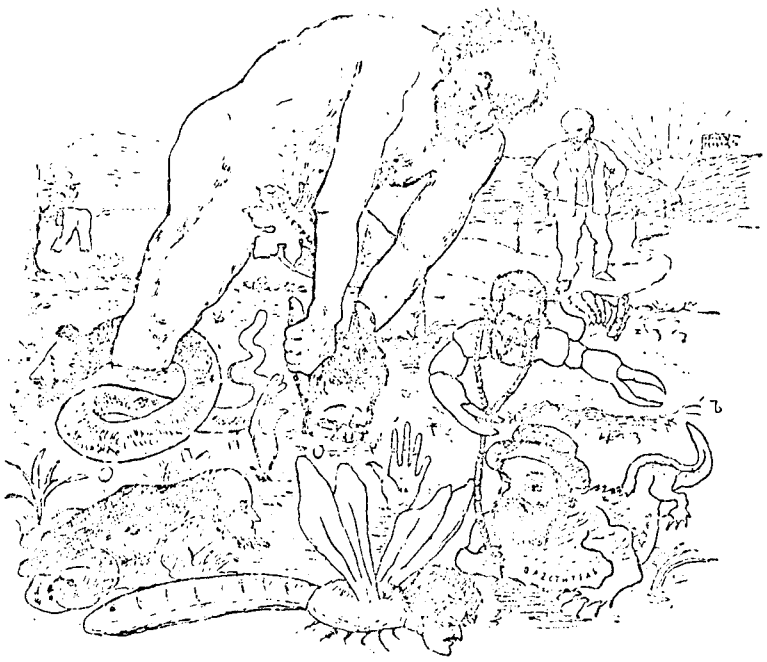
During the first world-wide imperialist conflagration (1914-1918), those socialists who had not totally sold out to the imperialist ruling classes met in Zimmerwald, Switzerland to hammer out a program against the war. Immediately two lines developed; on the one hand, Karl Kautsky proposed that socialists mount a fight for "an immediate peace with no annexations or indemnities." In other words ask the imperialist butchers to return to the "peaceful" situation of exploitation and colonialism that caused the war in the first place. They also advanced the ridiculous slogan of "disarmament." Lenin, on the other hand, united around himself a group of revolutionaries that opposed this pacifist rubbish. Lenin said:

> The conversion of the present imperialist war into a civil war is the only correct proletarian slogan, one that follows from the experience of the (Paris) Commune . . .
>
> Theoretically, it would be absolutely wrong to forget that every war is but the continuation of policy by other means. The present imperialist war is the continuation of the imperialist policies of two groups of Great Powers and these policies were engendered and fostered by the sum total of the relationships of the imperialist era.
>
> If the present war rouses among the reactionary Christian socialists, among the whispering petty bourgeoisie only horror and fright, only aversion to all use of arms, to bloodshed, death, etc., then we must say: Capitalist society is and always has been horror without end. If this most reactionary of all wars is now preparing for that society an end in horror, we have no reason to fall into despair. But the disarmament 'demand,' or more correctly, the dream of disarmament is objectively, nothing but an expression of despair at a time when as everyone can see, the bourgeoisie is paving the way for the only legitimate and revolutionary war—civil war against the imperialist bourgeoisie.

Convert the imperialist war into a civil war; work for the defeat of your "own" imperialists; overthrow the warmaking government. This is the line of genuine communists in a situation of imperialist war. However, Trotsky in this period attached himself firmly to the Kautsky revisionists and fought for their pacifist program. For example, when he arrived in New York in early 1917 Trotsky disrupted a group of revolutionary Russian exiles led by Alexandra Kollantai and through his delaying tactics prevented them from adopting the revolutionary program. (When Kollantai wrote Lenin about this, Lenin replied to her, "What a swine that Trotsky is." Lenin had had considerable experience with Trotsky's disruptive activities.)

No matter how you dress up pacifism in "internationalist clothes"—pacifism is in essence equivalent to nationalism. Refusing to turn the

SOME EARLY BOLSHEVIK CARTOONS



This shows Plekhanov, the founder of the Russian Social movement, who later sided with the Mensheviks in the controversies of 1903-1905, trying to pull his Menchevik friends out of the swamp while Lenin stands on the dry path leading to Revolution. Axelrod is the crayfish; Trotsky is the dragonfly.

guns on your own bourgeoisie amounts to a defense of your own bourgeoisie—naked nationalism.

Trotsky's successors have carried on the nationalist-pacifist line consistently. The Trotskyite "Socialist-Workers" Party in the U.S. advanced the slogan "Bring **our** Boys Home" during the Vietnam war in opposition to the line of "Defeat U.S. Imperialism" of PLP. In the Mid-East wars they rush to a non-class defense of Arab nationalists and the revisionist-imperialists, covering up the imperialist nature of those wars. When General DeGaulle visited Montreal and made his famous "Vive Quebec Libre" speech, the Canadian Trotskyites jumped on that nationalist slogan and appropriated the Gaullist slogan for their own. And in general they uncritically grovel before the figure of any nationalist who happens to capture the fancy of the news media. They are indeed worthy successors of Trotsky.

Pacifism and nationalism dressed up in "revolutionary clothes" is no invention of Trotsky or Trotskyites. Revisionists like Karl Kautsky, Khruschov and Mao-Tse-Tung were much more original. Just as Trotsky formed a bloc with Kautsky during World War I, the modern Trotskyites formed a bloc with the revisionist U.S. "communist" Party to usurp leadership in the Vietnam anti-war movement. But in each case, it was the revisionists who led the attack on revolutionary communist positions; Trotsky and the modern Trotskyites in each case ran after them snivelling about "revolutionary internationalism" while begging to be included in whatever revisionist bloc was around.

II HATRED OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT IS THE HALLMARK OF TROTSKYISM

It is on the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat and violent revolution that Trotsky most clearly takes his stand as just another revisionist. Marx had always proclaimed the inevitability of violent revolution as "the midwife" to socialist society and pointed out that the only road to the replacement of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is by the dictatorship of the proletariat. He said that this teaching is what separated scientific socialism from all forms of utopian socialism. The state is itself violence directed at certain classes; the capitalist state depends on the violence of the police and the military to suppress the working class and maintain capitalist rule. Lenin has spoken of "civil war, without which not a single great revolution in history has yet been able to get along, and without which not a single Marxist has conceived of the transition from capitalism to socialism." The victorious workers, however, cannot rest on their laurels. A ruthless dictatorship of the working class must be maintained over the defeated capitalists to prevent counter-revolution. This principle Lenin called the "watershed" between Marxism and revisionism. In this section we will show that Trotsky and his followers completely opposed this, the fundamental tenet of Marxism-Leninism.

Admittedly, it is hard to pin Trotsky down, for as Lenin once remarked:

Trotsky has never yet held a firm opinion on any important question of Marxism. He always contrives to worm his way into the cracks of any given difference of opinion and deserts one side for the other.

True, **in words**, when it suited his purpose, Trotsky would support revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, but **in practice**, he always found better company with his bourgeois friends in opposing steps to carry out the workers' revolution. We will give two examples, one from his early days as a "revolutionist," one during the civil war in Russia.

In 1905 a revolutionary situation had broken out in Russia; there was a general strike, the army was in disarray; the autocratic government was retreating before the liberals. The time had come to prepare the working class to seize power. A split naturally developed among Russian socialists about what line to take in revolutionary storm. On the one hand, there was Lenin and the revolutionary wing of the Party, known as the Bolsheviks, consisting mainly of workers in the Russian underground. On the other hand, was the group of intellectuals, mainly exiles, called the Mensheviks, that Trotsky adhered to. (The leader of this anti-revolutionary group was P.B. Axelrod to whom Trotsky had dedicated one of his anti-Lenin pamphlets. "To my dear teacher, Pavel Borosvich Arelrod," is how Trotsky referred to the foremost revisionist in Russia, a man who ended up fighting with the imperialists to restore capitalism in Russia.)

WHAT WAS THE SPLIT BETWEEN THE BOLSHEVIKS AND TROTSKY'S MENSHEVIKS ALL ABOUT?

Seeing that a situation had arisen favorable to revolution, Lenin and the Bolsheviks called for a big popular insurrection armed uprising, and the establishment of a revolutionary provisional government. The Tsar of Russia and his autocratic government had to be swept away, and the Bolsheviks didn't shy away from organizing to overthrow the government. Axelrod, and his flunkey, Trotsky, however, were afraid to alienate their liberal friends by such a "radical" call. Instead they appealed for a "representative institution—to set up a popular constituent assembly." Lenin ridiculed that nonsense pointing out that Trotsky's friends "prattle about a 'constituent' assembly, bashfully shutting their eyes to the fact that power and authority remain in the hands of the Tsar and forgetting that to 'constitute' one must possess the **power** to do so."

Not content with issuing nonsensical manifestos for the Tsar to set up "a representative institution" Trotsky's faction went among the workers and sabotaged Bolshevik agitation for an uprising saying that their own "tactics" "are more to our advantage" than the "tactics" of insurrection. Trotsky used his position in the Petrograd Soviet to push this revisionist garbage. The fact that a full fledged revolution did not take place in 1905 was due partly to the confusion the Mensheviks sowed in the ranks of the workers, and Trotsky

Scene in a 'non-bureaucratic' institution by P. N. Lepeshinsky, 1904

Here a group of Bolshevik underground workers, headed by Lyadov, Rozenberg, Volsky-Valentinov and Gusev, asked the Menshevik editorial board to publish their declaration, Plekhanov, seated facing the Bolsheviks, says: "Ask these fellows for their passports." Trotsky is on the telephone, apparently to police headquarters. The Menshevik king and queen hanging on the wall are Axelrod and Vera Zasulich respectively.

did his bit.

The Mensheviks and their adherent, Trotsky, used the occasion of the revolution of 1905 to issue wordy pronouncements on the need for more careful day to day work in the trade unions. They also cautioned against becoming "inordinately absorbed in military preparations, armed attacks, the seizure of power, etc." What they failed to see, or feared to see, was that the revolutionary period presented new tasks and careful day to day trade union work was no longer enough or even helpful. As Lenin declared, "the armed uprising brooks no delay; prepare yourself for it immediately and energetically; remember that it is indispensible for decisive victory."

The two lines were clearly drawn in 1905 and no matter how much Trotsky later claimed to be a revolutionary all his life, he cannot coverup the scab role he played then. Faced with a revolutionary situation, he panicked at the prospect of a workers' uprising and ran right into the arms of the liberals with his calls for a "representative" assembly.

Panic at the prospect of a workers' insurrection appears to be a congenital disease of Trotskyites. Trotsky's two leading collaborators in later opposing the Soviet Communist Party, his brother-in-law Kamenev, and the "Bolshevik" exile Zinoviev, had a similar affliction in 1917. These two adherents-to-be of Trotsky's stubbornly fought the proposal to launch the successful Bolshevik Revolution in 1917. Having been outvoted in the Central Committee, Zinoviev and Kamenev took their revisionist politics outside the Party, and wrote an article in Maxim Gorky's liberal newspaper warning the capitalists about the Bolsheviks' plans for an insurrection.

Here we digress for a moment to discuss a weakness of Lenin that seems inexplicable, his forgive-and-forget attitude that later caused so much unnecessary grief to the Communist movement. Take Zinoviev and Kamenev, for example, who should have been shot for what they did. Instead, on Lenin's insistence they were reinstated in the Party and even put back in the leadership. This weakness of Lenin's explains why Trotsky was allowed to join the Party after he had opposed it for so many years. During the revolution of 1917, Trotsky, seeing his Menshevik "teachers" increasingly isolated from the workers, perceived his future as a "revolutionist" lay with the Bolsheviks. So he switched sides in midstream and asked to join the Party, making an insincere self-criticism for his past errors. Why Lenin, who had fought this man he considered a "swine" for over 12 years, agreed to this is almost incomprehensible. Lenin who was a theoretical hardliner was often lenient on inner party disputes. For example, he for a long time refused to believe that the top police agent Malinovsky, who had infiltrated the Bolshevik Central Committee, was an agent. When Malinovsky came to trial, Party leaders kept Lenin away from the court for fear he would waver. Generally, Lenin had a weakness for those who had been exiled with him, even if they were police agents or opportunist "swine." Stalin and other underground leaders of the Bolsheviks had a harder line towards vacillating "Bolshevik" intellectuals like Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev, (Lenin considered Stalin too "rude"), but in the frantic days of the Revolution and the Civil War, it proved impossible to fight these inner party struggles to a conclusion.

The first phase of the Revolution of 1917 lasted from the overthrow of the Tsar in February to the overthrow of the last bourgeois government in October. (The second phase was a revolutionary Civil War that lasted three and one-half years). In the course of the Revolution, the Russian capitalists installed a succession of governments, each a little more "Left," in a vain attempt to prevent proletarian dictatorship. A Menshevik government was installed by the capitalists in the summer of 1917 to stem the tide of revolution.

In the "July Days," the Mensheviks began a round-up of thousands of Bolshevik workers, and a warrant was issued for Lenin, who was the main target of the Menshevik dragnet. Trotsky insisted that Lenin turn himself in to the police "to avoid a split with the Mensheviks." Stalin, as leader of the underground forces in the Party, recognized this capitalist plot to murder Lenin, opposed this and personally took charge of disguising and hiding Lenin. Trotsky turned himself in to his Menshevik friends and was later released unharmed, but the all-out search for Lenin continued until the overthrow of the government in October. This incident clearly indicates two different approaches to revolution and proletarian dictatorship on the one hand, the attitude of Trotsky, so quick to surrender to his trusted Menshevik friends; and on the other hand the attitude of professional revolutionaries, knowing that a cop is a cop and keeping their eye on the goal of revolution.

Trotsky had a reputation as an efficient organizer. (Maybe, that is why some of the Bolsheviks forgave his past and let him in.) On the strength of that reputation, Trotsky was put in charge of the Red Army during the Civil War that occurred after the victorious Revolution of 1917. He took advantage of that position to sabotage the dictatorship of the proletariat by introducing 30,000 former tsarist officers to take command of the workers' army.

The Revolution was made by the workers and peasants of Russia who overthrew the shackles of bourgeois authority. The key to the revolution was the Army Committees which the rank and file recruits organized in nearly every unit of the tsarist army, taking authority away from the tsarist officers, and preventing the tsarist officers from using the army to suppress the revolution. In fact the Army Committees led key units of the army to depose the tsarist officers and join the revolution. Working class members of the Bolshevik Party who had been drafted into the army played a key role in organizing the Army Committees. Party members like Kaganovich, a former worker in a shoe factory, who organized an Army Committee which took leadership away from the tsarist officers at Saratov.

Arrested by the bourgeois government in July 1917, Kaganovich escaped to Mogilev, tsarist headquarters, where during the Revolution in October he persuaded the Mogilev forces not to march in support of the government at the crucial hour.

There were hundreds of Bolsheviks like Kaganovich throughout Russia that were the backbone of the Revolution and that became the leaders of the new Red Army that fought the counter-revolutionary armies in the Civil War. But these working class leaders of the Red Army were not "expert" enough for Trotsky. Trotsky wanted "one-man command," so over 30,000 tsarist officers who had been kicked aside by the rank and file Army Committees were brought back to enforce "military discipline" which Trotsky felt was lacking in the Red Army.

Even in the short run, these officers proved unreliable as the situation in the key city of Tsaritsyn in 1918 proved. Several imperialist and counter-revolutionary (White) armies were advancing on this key junction between Moscow and South Russia. Voroshilov, a working class Bolshevik and leader of a few thousand Red Partisans in the Ukraine marched 200 miles through several German and White armies to try to save the city. When he arrived, he found the tsarist officers, who Trotsky had put in command of the city, trading with the White generals and planning to hand the city over. Due to Stalin's quick intervention, Voroshilov was put into command, the tsarist officers removed, and the city eventually saved. (Trotsky sent a telegram to Voroshilov demanding the reinstatement of the treacherous tsarist officers, but Stalin intercepted the telegram and told Voroshilov to ignore it.)

In the long run, the introduction of tsarist officers proved even more disastrous. Although many of the tsarist officers were exposed as treacherous in the course of the Civil War, many others remained in the Red Army after peace was restored. They became a key anti-socialist force. Slowly and seemingly imperceptibly, they reintroduced the style of a bourgeois military; they trained successors in an anti-working class method of military work. Over the course of the decades, the Red Army was transformed from a worker's army into the imperialist army it is today. Of course, Trotsky's tsarist officers were not the sole cause of that disastrous transformation, but they were a very important element.

Revolutionaries in the Army represented by Frunze and Gusev fought Trotsky's militarist methods. Party conferences on the Army in 1921, 1922 and 1923 were scenes of great struggle between working class forces led by Frunze, Gusev and Voroshilov, who fought for a Marxist working class army, and Trotsky and his gang, who wanted to reintroduce the militarist methods of imperialist armies. At one point in a 1922 conference, an exasperated revolutionary exclaimed to Trotsky that "polished boots and buttons are not everything." Trotsky answered with the incredible statement that, "War is a 'profession' for those who correctly learn military business ... How can the maxims of the military profession be determined with the help of the Marxist method?"

At last, in 1925 the Party Central Committee, removed Trotsky from his post and replaced him with Frunze. But, by now Trotsky's tsarist officers were too deeply entrenched for the new Bolshevik army leaders to easily remove them. Frunze's untimely death nine months later made the situation even more difficult, and the damage Trotsky did to the Red Army remained a hidden sore that slowly festered through the decades, eventually destroying the first worker's army.

We shouldn't overstate the role of Trotsky in this matter. Although Lenin, Stalin, Frunze and other Bolsheviks in the Central Committee disapproved of some of Trotsky's extreme military professionalism, they did not see the significance of his actions. They did not perceive that these actions were striking at the very heart of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus, Lenin and, for a long time, Stalin too, were loath to make an issue of it.

Today's modern Trotskyite groups carry on the Trotsky tradition of antipathy to the dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus, whether the SWP runs an endless stream of "socialist" election campaigns or its competitors call for a "Labor" Party, the result is the same—to prettify the bourgeois electoral system and to deny the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

III FACTIONALISM IS THE ONLY CONSISTENT PRINCIPLE OF TROTSKYISM

Around the turn of the century, all the socialist parties in the world were made up of various factions, fractions, federations and circles loosely connected by a verbal commitment to Marxism and a willingness to fight for pro-working class reforms. For example, a typical social democratic party would have a newspaper and its editorial board, a group of members in Parliament, circles of socialist intellectuals in various cities, trade union leaders in various industries, all members of the Party, but with no national leadership except that exerted by periodic Congresses. While effective to varying degrees in fighting for trade-union issues and democratic reforms, it was clear these parties were incapable of leading a revolution for real workers' power.

When Lenin returned the bulk of the socialist movement in Russia to the revolutionary principles of Marxism, he perceived the need for a Party of a new type—one which organized revolutionary cadre in a tightly disciplined way, where the editorial board of the newspaper, the parliamentary fraction, the trade-union and student cadre co-ordinated their activities toward a common strategy and were under discipline of a Central Committee democratically elected by the membership, but with a clear mandate to set policy for the Party as a whole and for each individual member. Only such a Party could lead the Revolution.

At several Russian Party conferences in 1901-

1904, this issue was fought out to a conclusion. In addition, Lenin wrote two books on the subject, **What is to be Done**, and **One Step Forward, Two Steps back**. We won't detail all the discussions here. Suffice it to say that it was on the question of organization of the Party above all that the Mensheviks split from the Bolsheviks. Trotsky was one of the leading splitters. In reply to Lenin's book, **One Step Forward, Two Steps Back**, which put forward the principles of a revolutionary communist organization, Trotsky wrote a pamphlet for the Mensheviks, **Our Political Tasks**, the essence of which is a demand for freedom for factions and opposition to centralized leadership. In the pamphlet, Trotsky never calls Lenin anything but "Maximilian Lenin," identifying Lenin as Maximilian Robespierre, the hangman of the French Revolution. In that pamphlet Trotsky plainly states that Party discipline need be submitted to only to the degree that Party decisions do not contradict the inclination and views of the individual members. While no revolutionary Party could function that way, Trotsky throughout his career, was loyal to that principle. If Trotsky did not agree with a Party decision, Trotsky simply did not obey it. Naturally, such a principle leads to never ending splits, as the subsequent history of the various Trotskyite groups show.

The Congress of 1903 was a turning point in the world communist movements. It was here that the Mensheviks (among them Trotsky) departed irrevocably from the revolutionary ranks and that the Bolsheviks hammered out their revolutionary organization in the fire of battle against the Menshevik intellectuals. Among the issues that Trotsky, Axelrod and other Mensheviks fought Lenin, Gusev and other Bolsheviks were:

- Membership in the Communist Party. The Bolsheviks held that membership must be mainly workers and at any rate limited to those actively committed to revolution and willing to submit to revolutionary discipline. The Mensheviks demanded membership for every "sympathetic professor" or "striking high school student."
- Principle of Organization. The Bolsheviks developed the organizational principle of democratic centralism where decisions democratically decided upon by the majority must be carried out by all Party members unconditionally. The Mensheviks demanded individuals be allowed essentially to do their own thing and factions have the freedom to organize against the national leadership.
- The Party Newspaper. The Bolsheviks held that the Party press be subordinate to the Central Committee. The Mensheviks insisted on the "right" of the editorial board to publish anything they want.
- Election to the leadership of the Russian underground. The Mensheviks pushed a list of their adherents, principally, Trotsky, Fomin and Egorov, a trio of sellout artists. The Bolshevik candidates were Popov, Travinsky and Glebov, three tested professional revolutionaries.

The Congress of 1903 was followed by the Revolution of 1905 in which Trotsky and his Menshevik friends played the despicable role of scabs we detailed above. With the defeat of the Russian workers' movement in 1905-1906, there arose among most of the Mensheviks and some faint-hearted Bolsheviks, a feeling of despair and pessimism so great that they lost all hope and called for the liquidation of the Party. This group was called the liquidators and Trotsky outdid even some of his Menshevik "teachers" in his vigor on behalf of that cause. Trotsky became one of the main leaders of the liquidation faction and thus found his career. From that time until his long overdue demise in 1940, he pursued only one

LENIN ON TROTSKY

"And it is this Judas who beats his breast and loudly professes his loyalty to the Party, claiming that he did not grovel before the Vperyod group and the liquidators. Such is Judas Trotsky's blush of shame."

Judas Trotsky's Blush of Shame, Lenin, **Collected Works**, Vol. 17, p 45
Written in early 1911, pub. in Pravda, Jan. 21, 1932

"...we were right in calling Trotsky a representative of the worst remnants of factionalism."

"Although he claims to be non-factional, Trotsky is known to everybody who is in the least familiar with the working-class movement in Russia as the representative of 'Trotsky's faction.'"

"Trotsky, however, possesses no ideological and political definiteness, for his patent for 'non-factionalism,' as we shall soon see in greater detail, is merely a patent to flit freely to and fro, from one group to another."

"All that glitters is not gold. There is much glitter and sound in Trotsky's phrases, but they are meaningless."

Lenin, "Disruption of Unity," May 1914, **Collected Works**, Vol. 20, (1966 ed. C.W.)

"But, joking apart (although joking is the only way of retorting mildly to Trotsky's insufferable phrase-mongering.)"

Ibid.

"Roland-Holst... Plakovsky... Trotsky... are all the most harmful 'Kautskians,' in the sense that all of them in various forms are for unity with the opportunists, all in various forms **embellish** opportunism, all of them (in various ways), preach eclecticism instead of revolutionary Marxism."

Collected Works, Vol. 35

Trotsky: Think, don't fight ....

If you do fight, fight the revolutionary party.

consistent aim in life—the liquidation of the Party of the workers.

Every revolutionary Party must expect defeats, even serious defeats. The Party must wipe the blood from its face and start again, adjust tactics to the changing situation but never lose sight of the main goal, **revolution.** In every capitalist country today, the ruling regime lives on borrowed time going from one crisis to another, afraid of its workers, unable to trust its soldiers or its intelligentsia. The social form of production is in crying contradiction to private property and capitalist exploitation. The spectre of proletarian revolution haunts every ruling class around the world without exception. But without a tested, experienced mass-based revolutionary leadership—the Communist Party—the revolution can't succeed. To advocate liquidation of the Party under these conditions is to surrender to the class enemy at precisely the historical period when they can be had.

Lenin knew this and he fought to keep the Party together. He knew the defeats of today are but the necessary preparation for the victories of tomorrow. Trotsky, on the other hand, was so panic-striken by the seeming strength of the bourgeoisie, so distraut over the defeats of 1905, that not only was he ready to surrender himself but he loudly urged others to this cowardly course.

Fortunately, the majority of the Bolsheviks would buy none of Trotsky's rubbish, but instead in the difficult conditions of the Fascist style reaction painstakingly built the Party. Professional revolutionaries like Stalin, Krylenko, Gusev, Osipov, Voroshilov, and many others spent the years 1906 to 1917 in and out of prison, forming underground workers' groups, secret trade-unions and army committees, spreading the Party literature and building the Bolshevik Party so that by 1917 most class conscious Russian workers looked to the Bolsheviks for leadership.

While these professional revolutionaries were on the front lines inside Tsarist Russia, Trotsky from exile in Switzerland continued as late as 1913 to push his liquidationist rubbish. Unable to get class conscious Party members to share his fear and despair, he tried more devious means to break up the Party. First he tried to discredit Lenin, the leader of the Bolsheviks.

The wretched squabbling systematically provoked by Lenin, that old hand at the game, that professional exploiter of all that is backward in the Russian labour movement, seems like a senseless obsession. (See "Trotsky's Letter to Chkheidze," April 1913.)

When that didn't work he seized upon some minor differences between Russian and Polish revolutionaries to drive a wedge between opponents of Trotsky's liquidationism in the two countries. Trotsky tried to magnify differences based on gossip in order to discredit both Lenin and the Polish revolutionaries. Lenin pointed out:

> The obliging Trotsky is more dangerous than an enemy! Trotsky could produce no proof, except "private conversation." "(I.e. simply gossip, on which Trotsky always subsists)..." for his contention that Polish revolutionaries had big differences with the Bolsheviks. After presenting some facts to clearly refute Trotsky, Lenin goes on to ask: "Why did Trotsky withhold these facts from the readers of

his journal? Only because it pays him to speculate on fomenting differences between the Polish and the Russian opponents of liquidationism, and to deceive the Russian workers on the question of the program."

At this time Trotsky formed a bloc with the extreme nationalist Jewish Bund. This group, which had always stood on the extreme Right of the workers' movement and was the forerunner to the modern Zionist Party in Israel, was also fighting tooth and nail to liquidate the Party. But as Trotsky's subsequent history showed, he would make a bloc with anyone if it would help his game of splitting or liquidating the Party.

None of this worked and Trotsky finding himself completely isolated during the Revolution of 1917 joined the Party he had fought so hard to liquidate. But his factionalism never stopped. Whether it was over the question of submitting to an unpleasant peace treaty in order to preserve workers' power or over Trotsky's harebrained scheme to militarize the trade unions, Trotsky found ample excuses to squabble with the Bolshevik Central Committee, and he was forever forming factions, worming "his way into the cracks of any given difference of opinion." We won't bore the reader with details of all the factionalizing Trotsky was involved in. But until Lenin's death Trotsky was, with one exception, relatively restrained. Lenin had routed Trotsky ideologically in the past...and "once Bitten twice shy."

The one exception took place in the winter of 1920-1921 in an otherwise not noteworthy discussion on trade-unions. Apparently Trotsky felt the time was right to issue a factional pamphlet that attacked the Central Committee in bitter terms. After the decision in the Central Committee went against him by 19 to 1, Trotsky went outside the Party, formed his own group with its own "platform" that demanded that the workers "choose between two trends," i.e. the Party or Trotsky. The workers did choose overwhelmingly for the Party and against Trotsky; Lenin wrote a stinging rebuke of Trotsky and to Bukharin who tried to excuse Trotsky's factional behavior, **Once Again on the Trade Unions, The Current Situation and the Mistakes of Trotsky and Bukharin.** Seeing himself completely isolated, Trotsky gave in again to the Party Central Committee and was once again forgiven by the soft-hearted Lenin.

After Lenin's death, Trotsky began his all-out assault against the Party. In order to prepare himself to "assume the mantle of Lenin." Trotsky prepared two articles, one on the history of the Revolution, the other on the need for a strong-man in the government. Trotsky's clear-cut object was to become military dictator. He started by rewriting history in his pamphlet, **Lessons of October.** This pamphlet was typical of the liar Trotsky's version of history. His struggle against the Bolsheviks is omitted. Trotsky is the great genius leader of the Revolution (with the help of Lenin). The rank and file of the Party does not exist; in the background is barely discerned a dull-witted anonymous Central Committee, and the Petrograd Bolshevik organization, the real collective organizer of the insurrection, is altogether absent.

Later in 1927 Trotsky issued a call to replace the dictatorship of the proletariat with a strong-man caudillo type government headed by himself, no doubt, that would sweep away "like garbage," the "ignorant and dishonest cribbers" which was how Trotsky referred to the Central Committee of the Party which he was still a member of. Looking for an historical example, he explicitly patterned himself after Clemenceau, the reactionary anti-communist, premier of France during World War I. Clemenceau first entered politics as a mayor of Paris during the Commune which he betrayed to the Versailles government; later as premier in 1910 he ruthlessly crushed the biggest strike wave in France at that time; as wartime leader of France, he was such an aggressive predatory imperialist that even Woodrow Wilson could not stomach him. He then organized the united imperialist intervention against Soviet Russia. Such was the man after whom Trotsky chose to pattern himself (now that his "teacher" Axelrod was dying.)

After Trotsky issued his factional pamphlet in 1924, the Central Committee replied and a thorough discussion of Trotsky's differences with the Party was held in all Party units. The rank and file was overwhelmingly against Trotsky. All the worker units were opposed to Trotsky's rubbish; his support was confined to some Party intellectuals and a few student clubs. In January 1925, Trotsky made a half-hearted self-criticism and submitted to the Central Committee. At that time Zinoviev and Kamenev were among the leading assailants of Trotsky's factional activities; in fact Zinoviev had demanded Trotsky's immediate expulsion from the Party. Stalin and the majority of the Central Committee, however, instead settled for a reprimand and removal of Trotsky from leadership of the Red Army. There were two reasons for Stalin's mildness toward Trotsky in this instance—one, he distrusted Zinoviev's motives, and second, he did not fully perceive the severe danger of Trotsky's factional activities. After the January meeting, Trotsky retired from the scene temporarily.

In the next year, Zinoviev began his own factional activities, evidently thinking that with Trotsky out of the way he would get "Lenin's mantle." He used the Petrograd organization where he had a base of support among the Party functionaries to attack the Central Committee. Courageous Party workers in Petrograd, particularly in the Vyborg industrial section of the Party, exposed his factional activities to the Central Committee which then brought up the matter at the 14th Party Congress, December 1925. After a six day discussion by a vote of 559 to 65, the Congress condemned the factional activities of Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev. Since they all in the end agreed to stop their factionalizing, they were retained in the Party and in the leadership. Once again Stalin and the Central Committee followed Lenin's forgive and forget attitude.

Generally speaking there is little that a Party member can do that is worse than factionalizing.

The working class is in a constant state of war with the bourgeoisie; the Party is the general staff of the working class and nothing disrupts the leadership that the Party gives its class more than a faction. Even if the faction happens to be right in a tactical sense, disruption of the Party's leadership is still the greater service to the bourgeoisie. This is because the hardest battle the Party fights is the battle to become and to remain the general staff of the working class. This battle is in many ways tougher than the Revolution itself. If the Party degenerates into factions, the working class will turn to other leadership as sure as night follows day. Thus, a revolutionary Party cannot afford to take a lenient attitude toward factions and factionalizers. The subsequent history of the Party in Russia showed how ill-conceived and futile was the Central Committee's lenient attitude in December, 1925.

In 1926-1927, the three leading factionalists, Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev finally got together and formed a new united faction with a handful of adherents. This time it was no halfway faction but the whole hog:

- They organized a full fledged organization complete with their own rump Central Committee and regional committees to oppose the Party's duly elected leadership (of which they were still a part)
- They circulated a series of declarations and platforms villifying the leadership of the Party and particularly Stalin, whom they now blamed for their downfall, and proposing their own revisionist program in place of the Party program.
- They circulated a bunch of Trotsky's old anti-Bolshevik, anti-Lenin pamphlets to justify their factionalizing activities.
- They organized illegal printing presses in conjunction with bourgeois intellectuals outside the Party.
- They made arrogant statements that they were violating Party discipline and would continue to do so.
- They contacted dissident elements in the German, French and other Communist Parties and urged these weak elements to also organize factions against their own leadership.
- Some went so far as to contact the armed counter-revolutionary White bands that still existed in Russia and asked for mutual support.
- In October 1927 they organized an anti-Central Committee demonstration in Moscow, which in conjunction with Trotsky's tsarist officers was to have led to a coup. However, only a handful of Trotskyites showed up and indignant Moscow workers ripped up their signs and broke up the demonstration.

All the time they were members of the Party and even of the highest leadership bodies!

Unfortunately for Trotsky and his faction, they were all generals without an Army. The Party rank and file, especially the workers, rejected their revisionist program and Trotsky's appeals to be the Clemenceau of Russia. The Central Committee organized nearly a year of discussion in the Party around the faction and its program. After the discussion, a vote was taken: 724,000 voted for the Central Committee 4000 for the Trotsky faction. If the rank and file had any difference with Stalin and the Central Committee, it was that the latter were too lenient with the Trotsky faction. At the October 1927 Central Committee meeting, Stalin made a self criticism:

"At the last plenum of the Central Committee, some members of the planum rebuked me for being too mild with Trotsky and Zinoviev and for advising the plenum against the immediate expuluion of Trotsky and Zinoviev from the Central Committee. (Voices from the audience: 'That's right and we rebuke you now.') Perhaps I was too kind then and made a mistake in proposing that a milder line be adopted towards Trotsky and Zinoviev. (Petrovsky interrupts from the floor: 'Quite right. We shall always rebuke you for a rotten piece of string.')"

The meeting voted to kick Trotsky and Zinoviev off the Central Committee. The 15th Party Congress in December 1927 expelled Trotsky and Zinoviev from the Party. Trotsky shortly afterwards went into exile, the better to continue his liquidationist activities. Zinoviev and Kamenev for a time broke with Trotsky and made yet another self-criticism, and Zinoviev was readmitted to the Party.

In exile Trotsky formed a "Fourth International" of renegades and assorted riff-raff to promote permanent counter-revolution. The spearhead of this gang was directed at overthrowing the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union. From 1927 to 1936 almost all the efforts of the "Fourth International" were devoted to subversion of the only workers' government. They recruited a wide variety of agents including some who were assigned by British imperialism and the German Nazis. Inside Russia these agents set up a subversive apparatus that suborned and recruited a handful of weak members or former members of the leadership, including Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bukharin and Radek. A campaign of subversion was begun by the Trotskyites that culminated in the dastardly murder of Kirov, one of the top leaders of the Central Committee in 1934.

With the assassination of Kirov, the Bolsheviks finally and completely broke with the old policy of leniency toward factions and factionalizers. A mass campaign was begun in the Party and the working class to isolate and defeat the Trotskyites and members of other revisionist factions. They were expelled from the Party and those who actually engaged in murder, sabotage and other crimes were brought to trial and some of them were executed in 1937. (These included Zinoviev, Kamenev and Bukharin.)

With the complete defeat of the Trotskyites in the Soviet Union the "Fourth International" turned its attention to sabotaging the work of Communist parties in the capitalist countries. Trotsky who was now living in Mexico gave

"special attention" to building anti-communism in the U.S. and Mexico. To that end in 1939 Trotsky on his own offered to personally appear before the House Un-American Activities Committee to explain to them the "evils" of communism and his "theory" of the "degeneration of the Soviet Union." Trotsky became a frequent contributor to the New York **Times** where he was given ample space to expound those ideas. It was not accidental that this was at a time when the U.S. Communist Party was leading the struggle to organize the CIO and fight unemployment.

In 1940 Trotsky's villanous career came to an end none too soon under mysterious circumstances. The "Fourth International," however, continues its handywork for capitalism to this day, although it has suffered from innumerable splits and factionalizing in typical Trotskyite fashion. The despicable role of the Trotskyites in the U.S. anti-war movement and in the Spanish Civil War is well known; less notorious is the role of the Trotskyites in aiding the counter-revolutionary fascists in the Indonesian massacre of 1965 (See **PL** V. 5 #6) and in the Ceylon massacre of 1971 (See **PL** V. 8 #4).

EXPERIENCE OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT IN RUSSIA

With the defeat of the Trotskyites, the Soviet Union entered what was called the "Stalin Era." The Party was called "Stalinist"; Stalin was called a personal dictator who controlled every aspect of life in Russia. This view by Trotskyites and other bourgeois observers was sometimes put forward with the contradictory "observations": that "Stalin is Zinoviev's flunkey" (Trotsky); "Stalin is the prisoner of Bukharin" (Zinoviev); "Stalin is the prisoner of the Politburo" (Harry S. Truman). To persons whose only frame of reference is "control" and "prisoners," who are unfamiliar with collective and democratic leadership, it is natural that they would think in these terms. But the actual fact is that a collective democratic leadership of the best revolutionary fighters and old Bolsheviks led the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia in the period after the liquidation of the Trotskyite and other revisionist factions.

Stalin led the collective, but the men and women who worked with him on the leadership were veteran revolutionaries, and mass leaders in their own right. Some (Vasilyev, Travinsky) had been revolutionary organizers since 1893. We will name them here because collectively **they** were the real leadership

- Founders of the Bolshevik Party in 1903, most of whom spent the 14 years until the Revolution as leaders of the illegal workers' movement inside Russia: Bubnov, Gorsky, Gusev, Hertz (Lenin's younger brother), Kollontai, Khodorovsky, Krupskaya (Lenin's wife), Lange, Lunacharsky, Lyadov, Oppokov, Orjonikidze, Orlov, Osipov, Palovich, Petrovsky, Teodorovich, Travinsky, Vasilyev.
- Underground revolutionaries and mass leaders who joined the Bolshevik Party in the period 1904 to 1917: Adoratsky, Andreyev, Antonov-Ovseyenko/Buddeny, Beria, Podvoisky, Dybenko, Kaganovich, Kalinin, Kirov, Kurayev, Krylendo, Litvinov, Mikoyan, Molotov, Shvernik, Voroshilov and Zhdanov.
- In the late forties the first two groups of veteran revolutionaries was joined in the leadership by younger men who joined the Party after the Revolution: Bulganin, Khrushchov, Kosygin, Kuzentsov, Malenkov, Suslov, Voznesensky.

Obviously, at least the first two groups of tested professional revolutionaries were not about to be dictated to by anybody. Yet Stalin was clearly the leader of the collective in the period 1927 to 1953 for several reasons:

- From 1912 to 1917, Stalin was chosen by the Party, at Lenin's nomination, to lead all the underground work in Russia. Thus most of the above named revolutionaries had functioned successfully under Stalin's leadership in the difficult and dangerous period leading to the Revolution.
- When the first Politburo was formed in May 1917, to be a four man steering committee for the Revolution, Stalin (not Trotsky) was chosen by the Party to be on it. He was elected to every subsequent Politburo until his death in 1953.
- In 1922 again on Lenin's nomination, Stalin was elected General Secretary of the Party. As the main Party organizer, he led the organization of the Party during the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.
- As Commissar of Nationalities, he played the principal role in welding together the independent national states of the old Russian Empire into a united multi-national Soviet Union. Stalin contributed much of the theoretical guidance to the Party in the difficult struggle against the Trotsky-Zinoviev factions and their revisionist programs.
- He gave courageous, personal leadership to the Soviet communists during the fierce struggle to-the-death with the Nazis.

In Stalin's last decade as head of the Party, there arose a myth of infallibility and omnipotence about him. He was neither, nor claimed to be. Few of the professional revolutionaries of the pre-Revolutionary era indulged in this cult. It was in the main the invention of the third group of Soviet leaders, Khrushchev, Malenkov, Kosygin and company. These johnny-came-latelies tried to make up in fawning praise and obsequious worship of Stalin what they lacked in revolutionary experience.

No one man can be "dictator" of a modern state, the size of the Soviet Union, irrespective of the type of government. It is a physical and psychological impossibility. Thus, when people attribute to a man all sorts of deeds and leadership which he couldn't possibly have performed, or even inspired, it is not really a sign of how powerful he is. On the contrary, it is a sign that others are putting up a big smokescreen to mask their own grab for the levers of power. Thus, Khrushchov and his gang organized the cult of Stalin not because Stalin was all-powerful and they had to praise Stalin to get ahead, but on the contrary it was because they were usurping the middle and upper levels of Soviet leadership with

a gang of revisionist careerists. Khrushchov at one time had these things to say about Stalin: "the greatest genius, teacher and leader of mankind," (speech in 1939), "the great ever-victorious marshal," (circular in 1945), and my "own father," (article in 1949). Far from opposing the cult of Stalin, Khrushchov and his gang organized it to further their own subversive program and to associate themselves with Stalin's popularity.

In the same way today the Chou-En-Lai faction in China built up the cult of infallible Mao to mask their transformation of the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Mao Tse-Tung is far from the omnipotent one as portrayed by Chou and company. On the contrary, Mao is today a pathetic figurehead, a shadow of his former revolutionary self, trotted out like a harmless icon on various occasions when it suits the Chou leadership. Stalin, on the other hand, fought the revisionists who were slowly gaining a stronghold over the Party, although Stalin did not fully understand what was happening, was unable to identify the behind-the-scenes Revisionist bosses or recognize the pernicious role the Cult of Stalin played in the revisionist process. Stalin's last writing, **Economic Problems of Socialism** (1952), was a bitter polemic against the revisionist idealogues who were preparing the climate for the concurrent revisionist usurpation of power in the Soviet Union.

The dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union lasted some 35 years, the longest practice the workers of the world have had being the ruling class. There were positive and negative experiences in this period. Naturally, the fact that the capitalists were able in the end to regain the helm is the most negative of all. What follows is not an attempt to fully analyze this experience nor give a definitive answer to the question, why the bourgeoisie regained power. Here we are able only to point to some of the strengths and weaknesses of that era.

In our articles "United Front" and "Win Peasants to Socialism," **PL** V. 8 #3, we pointed to the mistaken diplomatic policy of the USSR and the related revisionist "united front" strategy of the world communist movement in this period. The object of these policies which began around 1921 and continued at least through World War II was to split the united imperialist camp and to break local nationalists away from the imperialists. In a limited sense these policies were successful in that the Soviet Union after the Civil War never had to face the united armed might of world capitalism. In a larger sense, this strategy caused grave losses to the world revolutionary movement which was disorganized by the support or tolerance shown local fascists and capitalists, by the lack of firm revolutionary direction, and by the twists and turns of Soviet diplomatic policy. In the end, the Soviet Union became increasingly isolated from the workers of the world; the major communist parties abroad became conservative and revisionist.

On the other hand, for three decades, the Soviet Union was in a very real sense the center of the world revolutionary movement. Almost all the communist parties were formed with direct assistance from the Soviet Central Committee. The idea of dictatorship of the proletariat known only to a few in 1917 became popularized among millions of workers, in every continent. Our Party and other revolutionaries around the world owe a great debt to the Stalin and Lenin leadership in promoting and popularizing this concept which when properly understood and applied will lead to our certain victory.

Within the Soviet Union, the capitalists and imperialists were expropriated, the small peasant economy transformed into a collective economy; a big industrial base was built, the living standards of workers and peasants was vastly improved. As this process unfolded there were big mass struggles as the Party led poor peasants to fight the Kulaks (rich peasants), workers to fight bourgeois managers, rank and file soldiers to fight putchist-minded generals and officers and all working people to fight the Trotskyites and other revisionists and the historic defeat of the 1000 division Nazi armada. Yet, at the same time, unevenly and not without opposition, but nevertheless inexorably, there arose rank and privilege for a new stratum in the bureaucracy and among some Party functionaries. This provided the material base for revisionism. Most of the middle and upper-middle functionaries to one degree or other became infected with a bourgeois style of life and work, a conservative bureaucratic mentality, and a revisionist world outlook. The process was already far gone when Stalin died in 1963 and required only a palace coup by the Khrushchov clique, against those revolutionaries still in the Central Committee to complete the transformation into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

Yet, the experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union remains an unsullied glorious page in the history of the international working class. Neither the slanders of the Trotskyite renegades, nor the slurs of the Khrushchov revisionists will detract from the pride that workers all over the world felt for the 35 years that WE WERE ON TOP. We will study the experience, learn the proper lessons, adjust our strategy as need be, then RECONQUER POWER.

ALL POWER TO THE WORKING CLASS!!

Trotsky——— Shockley's Forerunner

Racists Herrnstein and Jensen have nothing on Trotsky!

Excerpts taken from the opening pages of Leon Trotsky's biography of Stalin. In them he pours out a load of racial theories of history, personality, and culture which dovetail with the worst "philosophizing" of Nazism.

Chapter I

FAMILY AND SCHOOL

THE late Leonid Krassin, old revolutionist, eminent engineer, brilliant Soviet diplomat and, above all, intelligent human being, was the first, if I am not mistaken, to call Stalin an "Asiatic." In saying that, he had in mind no problematical racial attributes, but rather that blending of grit, shrewdness, craftiness and cruelty which has been considered characteristic of the statesmen of Asia. Bukharin subsequently simplified the appellation, calling Stalin "Genghis Khan," manifestly in order to draw attention to his cruelty, which has developed into brutality. Stalin himself, in conversation with a Japanese journalist, once called himself an "Asiatic," not in the old but rather in the new sense of the word: with that personal allusion he wished to hint at the existence of common interests between the U.S.S.R. and Japan as against the imperialistic West. Contemplating the term "Asiatic" from a scientific point of view, we must admit that in this instance it is but partially correct. Geographically, the Caucasus, especially Transcaucasia, is undoubtedly a continuation of Asia. The Georgians, however, in contradistinction from the Mongolian Azerbaijanians, belong to the so-called Mediterranean, European race. Thus Stalin was not exact when he called himself an Asiatic. But geography, ethnography and anthropology are not all that matters; history looms larger.

A few spatters of the human flood that has poured for centuries from Asia into Europe have clung to the valleys and mountains of the Caucasus. Disconnected tribes and groups seemed to have frozen there in the process of their development, transforming the Caucasus into a gigantic ethnographic museum. In the course of many centuries the fate of these people remained closely bound up with that of Persia and Turkey, being thus retained in the sphere of the old Asiatic culture, which has contrived to remain static despite continual jolts from war and mutiny.

Anywhere else, on a site more traversed, that small, Georgian branch of humanity—about two and a half millions at the present time—undoubtedly

would have dissolved in the crucible of history and left no trace. Protected by the Caucasian mountain range, the Georgians preserved in a comparatively pure form their ethnic physiognomy and their language, for which philology to this day seems to have difficulty in finding a proper place. Written language appeared in Georgia simultaneously with the penetration of Christianity, as early as the fourth century, six hundred years earlier than in Kievian Russia. The tenth, eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries are considered the epoch in which Georgia's military power, and its art and literature flourished. Then followed centuries of stagnation and decay. The frequent bloody raids into the Caucasus of Genghis Khan and Tamerlane left their traces upon the national epos of Georgia. If one can believe the unfortunate Bukharin, they left their traces likewise on the character of Stalin.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the Georgian Tsar acknowledged the suzerainty of Moscow, seeking protection against his traditional enemies, Turkey and Persia. He attained his immediate goal in that his life became more secure. The Tsarist government laid down the necessary strategic roads, partially renovated the cities, and established a rudimentary network of schools, primarily for the purpose of Russifying these alien subjects. Of course, in two centuries the Petersburg bureaucracy could not replace the old Asiatic barbarism with a European culture of which its own country was still in sad need.

Despite its natural wealth and supernal climate, Georgia continued to be a poor and backward country. Its semifeudal social structure was based on a low level of economic development and was therefore distinguished by the traits of Asiatic patriarchy, not excluding Asiatic cruelty. Industry was almost nonexistent. Agriculture and house-building were carried on virtually as they had been two thousand years before. Wine was pressed out with the feet and stored in large clay pitchers. The cities of the Caucasus, comprising no more than one-sixth of the population, remained, like all Asia's cities, bureaucratic, military, commercial, and only to a small extent industrial. Above the basic peasant mass rose a stratum of gentry, for the most part not rich and not generally cultured, in some instances distinguishable from the upper layers of the peasantry only by their pompous titles and affectations. Not without reason Georgia—with its tiny past "power," its present economic stagnation, its beneficent sun, its vineyards, its irresponsibility, and its abundance of provincial hidalgos with empty pockets—has been called the Spain of the Caucasus.

The young generation of the nobility knocked at the portals of Russian universities and, breaking with the threadbare tradition of their caste, which was not taken any too seriously in Central Russia, joined sundry radical groups of Russian students. The more prosperous peasants and townsmen, ambitious to make of their sons either government officials, army officers, lawyers, or priests, followed the lead of the noble families. Wherefore Georgia acquired an excessive number of intellectuals, who, scattered in various parts of Russia, played a prominent role in all the progressive political movements and in the three revolutions.

The German writer Bodenstedt, who was director of a teachers' institute at Tiflis in 1844, came to the conclusion that the Georgians were not only slovenly and shiftless, but less intelligent than the other Caucasians; at school they could not hold their own against the Armenians and the Tartars in the study of science, the acquisition of foreign languages and aptitude for self expression. Citing this far too cursory opinion, Élisée Reclus expressed the altogether

sound surmise that the difference might be due not to nationality but rather to social causes—the fact that the Georgian students came from backward villages while the Armenians were the children of the city bourgeoisie. Indeed, further development soon erased that educational lag. By 1892, when Joseph Djugashvili was a pupil in the second form of the parochial school, the Georgians, who made up approximately one-eighth of the population in the Caucasus, contributed virtually a fifth of all the students (the Russians—more than a half, the Armenians—about fourteen per cent, the Tartars—less than three per cent . . .). It seems, however, that the peculiarities of the Georgian language, one of the most ancient tools of culture, do indeed impede the acquisition of foreign languages, leaving a decided imprint on pronunciation. But it does not follow that the Georgians are not gifted with eloquence. Like the other nations of the empire, under Tsarism they were doomed to silence. But as Russia became "Europeanized," Georgian intellectuals produced numerous—if not first rate, at least outstanding—orators of the judiciary and later of the parliamentary rostrum. The most eloquent of the leaders of the February Revolution was perhaps the Georgian Iraklii Tseretelli. Therefore it would be unjustified to account for the absence of oratorical ability in Stalin by citing his national origin. Even in his physical type he hardly represents a happy example of his people, who are known to be the handsomest in the Caucasus.

The national character of the Georgians is usually represented as trusting, impressionable, quick-tempered, while at the same time devoid of energy and initiative. Above all, Reclus noted their gaiety, sociability and forthrightness. Stalin's character has few of these attributes, which, indeed, are the most immediately noticeable in personal intercourse with Georgians. Georgian émigrés in Paris assured Souvarine, the author of Stalin's French biography, that Joseph Djugashvili's mother was not a Georgian but an Osetin and that there is an admixture of Mongolian blood in his veins. But a certain Iremashvili, whom we shall have occasion to meet again in the future, asserts that Stalin's mother was a pure-blooded Georgian, whereas his father was an Osetin, "a coarse, uncouth person, like all the Osetins, who live in the high Caucasian mountains." It is difficult, if not impossible, to verify these assertions. However, they are scarcely necessary for the purpose of explaining Stalin's moral stature. In the countries of the Mediterranean Sea, in the Balkans, in Italy, in Spain, in addition to the so-called Southern type, which is characterized by a combination of fiery shiftlessness and explosive irascibility, one meets cold natures, in whom phlegm is combined with stubbornness and slyness. The first type prevails; the second augments it as an exception. It would seem as if each national group is doled out its due share of basic character elements, yet these are less happily distributed under the southern than under the northern sun. But we must not venture too far afield into the unprofitable region of national metaphysics. (It's a little late for such magnanimity. The cat's out of the bag.)

V.I. Lenin:
THE WORKING CLASS AND NEO-MALTHUSIANISM

The question of abortion, that is, artificially induced miscarriages, evoked great interest and called forth many debates at the Pirogov Medical Congress. The reporter Luchkus presented data showing widespread practice of abortion in so-called civilized countries. There were eighty thousand abortions in New York in a year, and 36,000 in a month in France In St. Petersburg the percentage of abortions doubled in the last five years.

The Pirogov Medical Congress decided that mothers should not be criminally prosecuted for abortions and that doctors should be prosecuted only if they perform abortions for "pecuniary interests."

The majority at the congress, while arguing against punishment for abortions, naturally touched upon the question of neo-Malthusianism (birth control) as well as the social side of the problem. For instance, M. Vigdorchik, according to the report in the *Russkoye Slovo* (*Russian Word*), declared that one must "welcome contraceptive methods" while M. Astrakhan exclaimed, amid a storm of applause: "We are obliged to persuade mothers to give birth to children so that they may be crippled in educational institutions, so that they may be drafted for military service, so that they may be driven to suicide." . . .

"To give birth to children so that they may be crippled." . . . Only for this? Why not so that they may fight better, with greater solidarity, with greater consciousness and decisiveness, against the prevailing conditions of existence which are mutilating and destroying our generation?

Here we have the basic difference between the psychology of the peasant, the artisan, and the intellectual, of the petty-bourgeois generally, and the worker. The petty bourgeois sees and feels that he is perishing, that life is becoming more difficult, the struggle for existence more intolerable, that his own situation and that of his family more and more hopeless. This is an undeniable fact. And the petty bourgeois protests against it.

But *how* is he protesting?

He is protesting as the representative of a class destined to perish, despairing of its future, beaten and cowardly. The cry of the petty bourgeois is: Nothing can be done about it, so let there be fewer children to suffer our misfortunes and "hard labor," our poverty and humiliation.

The class-conscious worker is far removed from such a point of view. He will not allow his consciousness to be obscured by such cries, no matter how sincerely and feelingly they may be uttered. Yes, we workers and small owners, too, lead an unbearable life, filled with oppression and suffering. Our generation has fared worse than our fathers. But in one respect we are better off than our parents. *We have learned and are learning fast to struggle*—and to struggle not singly as the best of our fathers fought, not in the name of petty bourgeois slogans alien to us, but in the name of our own slogans, the slogans of our class. We are fighting better than our fathers did. Our children will fight still better, and *they will win*. . . .

This—and this alone—is why we are the absolute enemies of neo-Malthusianism, this tendency of the philistine couple, hardened and egotistical, who mumble in fright: "We shall somehow hang on, with God's help, but better not think about children."

Certainly, this does not prevent us from demanding the complete abolition of all laws prohibiting abortion or the distribution of medical information on birth control, etc. These laws only expose the hypocrisy of the ruling classes. These laws do not cure the diseases of capitalism, but make them especially deadly and grave for the oppressed masses. The freedom of medical information and the defense of the elementary democratic rights of men and women citizens is one thing. The social theory of neo-Malthusianism is something else. Class-conscious workers will always lead the most relentless struggle against any attempt to fasten this reactionary and cowardly teaching upon the class which is most advanced, most powerful, and best prepared for great social changes.

Soldsomeshitsin's Bouquet

Bosses Promote "Literary" Attack On Communism

All the bosses' papers are singing the praises of a book from Russia titled **Gulag-Archipelago 1917-1956. The dates 1917-1956 mark the years from Lenin to Khruschev's anti-Stalin speech, roughly the life-span of the workers' dictatorship.**

It is important to remember that Khruschev was the talent scout who first discovered this reactionary Solshenitzin and published his prison stories. Why? to make the anti-communists and pro-Nazi elements look like pathetic victims of "Stalinism."

Archipelago was written, on assignment, in 1958! Materials were supplied to the author. But it went too far in attacking Lenin and "explaining" collaboration with Nazis. Like Khruschev's secret speech of 1956 it was kept back from publication.

Now the Western capitalists are printing it to put heat on their Russian rival and to promote anti-communism.

The latest crop of Soviet bosses is becoming embarrassed by the anti-communist antics of A.I.S. Not because they are socialists but because they need to maintain that veneer in order to bamboozle their people and others around the world. On the one hand the fascist rulers in Moscow would like to shut A.I.S. up; on the other, they don't want to overly antagonize their new business partners on Wall St. This sham battle between the corporate giants of Moscow and Washington will finally be concluded by the workers of the world, who will easily decide who their true friends were and are.

Recently, the New York Times (N.Y.T.) has run a series of three articles by Alexander I. Solzhenitsyn (A.I.S.) dealing with the penal system in the Soviet Union, and political trials in the Soviet Union during Stalin's time. These three articles—all front page—are surrounded by a welter of "analyzing" articles all dealing with the same theme: that Stalin was a mass murderer, and anything done against him and the system which he represented was fine.

BEFORE ANYONE GETS SUCKED INTO THE line of A.I.S. and his buddies on the N.Y.T., they had better take a closer look at some recent history.

Before the bodies of millions of Vietnamese murdered by U.S. bosses are in their graves, U.S. mouthpieces are wretching themselves about the "bad" penal system under Stalin and the rights of individuals.

During the last few years a wave of prison revolts has rocked this country. These revolts have all been aimed at one thing—the inhuman conditions of prisoners in this country! Attica is the most militant symbol of these revolts. At Attica, as in many other places, dozens of unarmed prisoners were gunned down by the very same forces who decry prison life under Stalin.

During the antiwar movement, which was directed against U.S. genocide in Vietnam, unarmed students at Kent State college were mowed down. In Louisiana, Jackson State and Southern State colleges, black students, also unarmed, were again gunned down in cold blood by these very same hero types yapping about individual liberties. During the periods of the integration movement, the anti-war movement, and in the labor movement during this same period the jails in this country were bursting at the seams with political prisoners. There are more political jailings in this country than in any other country in the world. Or even more sharply, there are more political jailings in this country than in all the Western Countries combined.

Police terror against minority people, industrial murder (called "on the job accidents"), and the deterioration of life in our country wastes millions of Americans each year. Then there are the countless millions of yearly victims of U.S. imperialism all over the world. If you could pile the corpses of the victims of U.S. imperialism during the past decade to the moon you could probably keep going to Mars. Obviously,the N.Y.T. and the gang they speak for have no interest in the rights of anyone except their own. So what explains this latest charade?

BOSSES IN THE U.S. AND BOSSES ALL OVER the world hated the Russian Revolution. This first workers' revolution took away from them one-sixth of the world and was a beacon call to the workers of the world to rebel. They hated the leadership of this revolution. They hated Stalin because he represented to them the end of the profit system. Since the inception of his leadership, U.S. bosses covertly and overtly tried to destroy the first workers' state. First, in 1919, through direct intervention. Later, they organized the Nazis to do the job. But the Nazis double-crossed them and tried to take it all. Finally, the Soviet Union with minor support from the Western bosses crushed Hitler.

But the example of workers' revolution sticks in their throats. The example of unbending revolutionary leadership panics them. Bosses know that when workers take power it isn't only their profits that they are going to lose. Workers in the new socialist state didn't give out posies or medals to their oppressors. Nor will workers in this country kiss their tormentors who are racist murderers. So, through the person of Stalin, the bosses and their stooges on the left, have kept up and are now stepping up their 50 year anti-Stalin crusade, which is simply anti-communism.

Naturally, A.I.S. and the bosses see doing any-

New York Times, Saturday, March 7, 1953
Moscow: HUGE FUNERAL SET: MOURNERS IN MOSCOW OFFER QUIET HOMAGE. Thousands of grieving Moscow citizens have filed by Stalin's bier... The funeral services will be held on Monday. Hundreds and hundreds of thousands of Muscovites possibly as many as two million will have passed Stalin's bier before the funeral services...

New York Times, Thursday, March 5, 1953
MOSCOW MUTED AND SAD, WEEPS: SPECIAL FEELING FOR STALIN SHOWN: MOSCOW... Let there be no mistake about it—the news of comrade Stalin's illness if profoundly sad to the ordinary man and woman of Russia... One look at the faces of men and women waiting in line for their papers was enough to tell anyone that something of grave and pervasive importance had taken place. Here and there women were sobbing and men hastily wiped their eyes...

According to A.I.S., the Times, and various scribblers on the "left," the Soviet people hated Stalin and their own socialist system. So the signs of sadness, love and respect for the Soviet system, reported in the Times at the moment of Stalin's death, were really an illusion!

thing as reasonably if it is aimed at overturning a socialist state. This includes working with and for Nazis. A.I.S. did workers a favor when he documented how counter-revolutionary forces worked for the Nazis during World War II. Harrison E. Salisbury points this out in one of the analytical articles. He says: "In contemporary Soviet terms one of Mr. Solzhenitsyn's bold endeavors is his sympathetic examination of the so-called Vlasov movement in World War II and his efforts to rehabilitate millions of Soviet prisoners of war who passed directly from Hitler's death camps to the Stalinist death camps in Siberia..."

A.I.S. has this to say about the role of this Gen. Vlasov: "...he was taken to the German Staff near Lotzen in East Prussia where several captive Generals and a Brigade political commissar, G.P. Zilenkov, formerly a successful party official, secretary of one of the Moscow district party committees, were being held. They had already declared their disagreement with the policy of the Stalin government. But they had no real leader among them. Vlasov became this figure." In the eyes of A.I.S., this rat who fought with the Germans and who opposed the efforts of anti-Nazi workers all over the world, is an O.K. guy.

In any workers' battle in our country aren't there many traitors to the workers? Aren't there many who go to the side of the bosses? In bosses' literature in this country are militant workers depicted as heros? Either they are pictured as misdirected fools or as barbarians. Well, history shows who the criminals are. You see, the one thing that A.I.S. and the bosses can't deal with or answer is how come millions of Soviet workers smashed foreign intervention led by the U.S. And how did Russian workers smash Hitler's millions? If they all hated their system and their leaders so much, how come they beat everything the bosses threw at them? When Stalin died in 1953 the largest outpouring in modern times came forth, as millions of Soviet workers lined up endlessly to view his body. Not only out of respect and love for him, but out of understanding of their own efforts, and the society they had begun to develop.

Those millions lined up in sub-freezing temperature in Moscow in 1953 haunt the bosses. They would like to eradicate socialist achievement from the minds and hearts of workers. The experiences of these revolutionaries—good and bad, their successes and their failures—belong only to us, to revolutionaries and workers.

We can learn from all these things. We build on the positive achievements and discard the bad. We apologize for nothing or no one. We know when the bosses distort history, they are not trying to help us. Perhaps the bosses could do us a little favor and keep A.I.S. alive and well until workers in Russia take power again. This time he won't make the "Gulag Archpelago"—the Grossinger's of Siberia. It's too good for him and his kind.

Himmler countered by saying it would be better if Vlasov restricted himself to positive measures, such as increasing rations, improving living conditions, etc. In that way he would become even more popular. Vlasov agreed to this.

Himmler closed with the assurance that he saw no obstacles to acting on the points discussed very soon. Once the liberation army had been organized and a Russian countergovernment set up, Vlasov would be presented to Hitler in an official state ceremony. Himmler confirmed Kroeger in his post as political representative, with additional authority on questions of practical coordination. Kroeger was to work closely with the SS Main Office on economic questions, and there was, as well, to be close cooperation with d'Alquen on all problems of psychological warfare.

After the conference was concluded, all present sat down to a meal which was accompanied by relaxed conversation. Himmler asked about Vlasov's career, about his activity in China and the battle for Moscow, displaying special interest in the improvisations adopted by the Soviets. When he asked why Tukhachevsky's conspiracy had failed, Vlasov replied that Tukhachevsky had committed the same error as Hitler's enemies—he had not taken the masses into account. Vlasov left at 3 p.m. Himmler then spoke briefly with d'Alquen and Ehlich. He was evidently impressed by Vlasov and assured them that he would keep his promises to him. Still, Vlasov was a Russian, and one had to be careful. He asked d'Alquen to keep his eyes open and immediately report any unexpected developments.2

D'Alquen wrote a memorandum on the meeting between Himmler and Vlasov in 1947. Since d'Alquen believed at the time that this meeting would lead to a decisive turn of events, his recollection of it is probably quite accurate. His description is in fact confirmed in all points in letters to the author by Kroeger and Ehlich. D'Alquen, Kroeger, and Ehlich all agree that there was no mention of a withdrawal from the Crimes. Berger, too, recalls no such statement by Himmler at any time. Therefore, the unsigned note from Berger's

There are two points of significance here:

1. Vlasov, who is one of A.I.S.' exemplary heroes, was in fact nothing but a close collaborator with the Nazis. And Vlasov was no slouch at that. He dealt right on top; with Himmler and Hitler.

2. A good deal has been made by various anti-communists over the years about how Stalin was a power mad violent fool who was sucked into destroying his ablest Generals, thus making the Soviet state vulnerable to Hitlerite attack. "Great lovers" of the revolutionary state, from the New York Times to renegades like Trotsky, have crowed about this for years. Their common point of reference was the trail of G. Tukhachevsky, who was chief of the Soviet General Staff in the thirties. In passing, Sternberg gives the game away by blithely indicating that in fact Tukhachevsky was an anti-Soviet plotter. So another bourgeois slander is laid to rest.

Here is Solzhenitsyn's military hero, the renegade General Vlasov, who clicked his heels for the Fuehrer.

(New York Review of Books, Jan. 24, 1974)

Christopher Hill: *Stalin as Revolutionary, 1879-1929* by Robert C. Tucker
Stalin: The Man and His Era by Adam B. Ulam

These books, valuable in many ways, do not fully answer the questions they pose. They emphasize, rightly, the horrifying aspects of Stalin's rule, the suffering, the sacrifices of human life in collectivization, in the purges, in the war. But there are other points to make. In Mr. Ulam's account the defeat of the German armies is totally inexplicable. Despite a government which had for a decade been "at war with the nation," despite economic breakdown and military unpreparedness, despite incompetent generals, bungling interference by Stalin, appalling losses—nevertheless the Red Army ultimately defeated, virtually singlehanded, what had hitherto seemed the most efficient fighting machine in the world.

Mr. Ulam appears to attribute this to German miscalculations, to Hitler's being even more incompetent than Stalin. But the reallocation of Soviet resources after the initial ghastly retreats, the sheer logistic and administrative achievements of the Red Army's counterattack, suggest that the morale of the Soviet people must have been quite different from what Mr. Ulam's account would lead us to expect. How unlike 1914-1917 the only standard of comparison most Russians had. This is in no sense to justify Stalin. In so far as Soviet morale was based on confidence in him it was no doubt an illusion; but illusions too can be a force in history.

How was it that people not only endured Stalinism but continued to hail Comrade Stalin as their savior? Perhaps the biographical approach cannot answer this question. "If these the times, then this must be."

Revolutions produce recurrent situations, to which a Cromwell, a Napoleon, a Stalin react; the ways in which they react derive from the national political tradition. One aspect of the Soviet tradition was that in Russia—and a fortiori in Georgia—there was no popularly respected tradition of the rule of law. Yet Russia's was one of the very few great revolutions in which the Army was always kept under civilian control—as Oliver Cromwell's was not. Professor Tucker might take that paradox as the starting point of his second volume. □

The reason a died-in-the-wool anti-communist like Hill could pose these questions and the reason two more long books about Stalin explaining very little are published, is relatively simple. These scribblers can't understand that there were millions of dedicated and courageous communists in the Soviet Union who were an inspiration to the Soviet people as the people were to them. Millions of Soviet citizens believed in socialism and proved ready, willing, and more than able to create "miracles" (as our bourgeois idealists like to call things understandable to them) of socialist triumph, whether in construction or in war. Perhaps if the writers dealt a little more on how socialism and communists can move society ahead far better than decadent and dying capitalism they might save some paper and conserve energy during the "energy crisis."

REPLY TO THE GREETINGS OF THE WORKERS OF THE CHIEF RAILWAY WORKSHOPS IN TIFLIS

June 8, 1926

Comrades, permit me first of all to tender my comradely thanks for the greetings conveyed to me here by the representatives of the workers.

I must say in all conscience, comrades, that I do not deserve a good half of the flattering things that have been said here about me. I am, it appears, a hero of the October Revolution, the leader of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the leader of the Communist International, a legendary warrior-knight and all the rest of it. That is absurd, comrades, and quite unnecessary exaggeration. It is the sort of thing that is usually said at the graveside of a departed revolutionary. But I have no intention of dying yet.

I must therefore give a true picture of what I was formerly, and to whom I owe my present position in our Party.

Comrade Arakel* said here that in the old days he regarded himself as one of my teachers, and myself as his pupil. That is perfectly true, comrades. I really was, and still am, one of the pupils of the advanced workers of the Tiflis railway workshops.

Let me turn back to the past.

I recall the year 1898, when I was first put in charge of a study circle of workers from the railway workshops. That was some twenty-eight years ago. I recall the days when in the home of Comrade Sturua, and in the presence of Djibladze (he was also one of my teachers at that time), Chodrishvili, Chkheidze, Bochorishvili, Ninua and other advanced workers of Tiflis, I received my first lessons in practical work. Compared with these comrades, I was then quite a young man. I may have been a little better-read than many of them were, but as a practical worker I was unquestionably a novice in those days. It was here, among these comrades, that I received my first baptism in the revolutionary struggle. It was here, among these comrades, that I became an apprentice in the art of revolution. As you see, my first teachers were Tiflis workers.

Permit me to tender them my sincere comradely thanks. (*Applause.*)

I recall, further, the years 1907-09, when, by the will of the Party, I was transferred to work in Baku. Three years of revolutionary activity among the workers in the oil industry steeled me as a practical fighter and as one of the local practical leaders. Association with such advanced workers in Baku as Vatsek, Saratovets, Fioletov and others, on the one hand, and the storm of acute conflicts between the workers and the oil owners, on the other, first taught me what it means to lead large masses of workers. It was there, in Baku, that I thus received my second baptism in the revolutionary struggle. There I became a journeyman in the art of revolution.

Permit me to tender my sincere comradely thanks to my Baku teachers. (*Applause.*)

Lastly, I recall the year 1917, when, by the will of the Party, after my wanderings from one prison and place of exile to another, I was transferred to Leningrad. There, in the society of Russian workers, and in direct contact with Comrade Lenin, the great teacher of the proletarians of all countries, in the storm of mighty clashes between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, in the conditions of the imperialist war, I first learnt what it means to be one of the leaders of the great Party of the working class. There, in the society of Russian workers—the liberators of oppressed peoples and the pioneers of the proletarian struggle of all countries and all peoples—I received my third baptism in the revolutionary struggle. There, in Russia, under Lenin's guidance, I became a master workman in the art of revolution.

Permit me to tender my sincere comradely thanks to my Russian teachers and to bow my head in homage to the memory of my great teacher—Lenin. (*Applause.*)

From the rank of apprentice (Tiflis), to the rank of journeyman (Baku), and then to the rank of a master workman of our revolution (Leningrad)—such, comrades, was the school in which I passed my revolutionary apprenticeship.

Such, comrades, is the true picture of what I was and what I have become, if one is to speak without exaggeration and in all conscience. (*Applause rising to a stormy ovation.*)

Zarya Vostoka (Tiflis),
No. 1197, June 10, 1926

J. V. STALIN

Auto Workers Must Put the Brakes on the Big 3

ENTERING 1974, U.S. WORKERS ARE FACing massive layoffs, rising prices, lower real wages, possible heatless homes and apartments —in short, an economic crisis created by capitalism which the bosses, as usual, are shifting onto the backs of the working class. Nowhere is this crisis hitting harder than in the auto industry, probably the most crucial sector of the U.S. economy. One in six jobs in the U.S. depends upon, or is related to auto. It is within this framework that we should examine recent events in the auto industry and within the UAW, to be better able to develop a fightback by auto workers, and consequently by the whole working class.

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In recent years, U.S. auto makers, essentially the Big Three—General Motors, Ford and Chrysler—have been facing a variety of problems which they are attempting to solve in a number of ways. Among the biggest is competition from foreign auto manufacturers in Europe and Japan who have been flooding the U.S. market with small cars.

This increasing competition has intensified the exploitation of auto workers world-wide, and has greatly sharpened the class struggle in this industry internationally. Massive strikes have occurred in Great Britain, West Germany, Italy, Spain and France against both their own auto makers as well as the Big Three's plants in those countries. This has pushed in two directions, both affecting U.S. auto workers:

- The Big Three, not finding such smooth sailing for their foreign investments, push even harder against auto workers here at home; and,
- Foreign companies, also not finding workers docile in their own countries, are aiming to construct plants here in the U.S. to exploit "cheap," sped-up labor. Volvo is planning to build a plant in Chesapeake, Virginia which will turn out 30,000 cars by 1976 and 100,000 by 1980, based on a maximum work-force of 3,000. (Volvo sold 53,000 cars in the U.S. in 1972, 75% of its total sales.) Volkswagon, Datsun and Mazda are all "studying" the same idea.

Thus, both U.S. and foreign auto bosses are looking to compete in exploiting U.S. workers, to wring as much profit as possible out of their labor. The Big Three, especially, faced with a fall in their **rate** of profit—as is U.S. business generally—is clawing to fight this trend and increase their **volume** of profit any way they know how:

- They won elimination of the federal excise tax on cars plus higher tariffs on imported cars, thereby enhancing their competitive position relative to foreign producers;
- They have intensified speed-up in U.S. plants, lengthened hours, and eliminated jobs. GM, with its recently-created General Motors Assembly Division—the notorious GMAD—has provoked strike after strike around the country because of intolerable speed-up and consequent mass layoffs. It reached the unheard-of pace of forcing workers at the Lordstown, Ohio Vega plant to produce 110 cars an hour!
- They have attempted to control plant production by computer systems which eliminate, or lessen, the need for stockpiling parts;
- They have decentralized parts production, spread assembly plants all over the country while developing a transportation system that can bring the parts to the assembly plants where needed. However, this last move has made the Big Three particularly vulnerable, since if one key parts plant stops production for whatever reason, the entire chain may be shut. Therefore, such a system has intensified the need for even greater "discipline" among auto workers, which, as we shall see, was reflected in the latest contracts with the Big Three.

All this has produced the greatest profits in history for the auto bosses. In the first nine months of 1973, **net** profits for GM, Ford and Chrysler totaled $2.9 billion, a 29% increase over the same period in 1972. Estimates were that by the end of '73, net profits after taxes might reach the record figure of $4 billion!

So, at the same time that the Big Three faced problems from foreign competition and the relatively greater demand for compact rather than standard-size cars, they were also able to intensify the exploitation of U.S. workers enough to produce the above result. The effect and importance of this success on the entire U.S. ruling class—and the danger to it posed by a worker fight-back—was clearly presented by an editorial

Australian Workers Rock Ford

Ford's future in Australia was recently dimmed when workers there angrily struck back against low wages with their own "missile crisis."

in **Business Week** magazine, coming just after a series of rank-and-file-led strikes at Chrysler and on the eve of national negotiations in the auto industry:

> **"UAW and Chrysler will determine whether the U.S. continues the pattern of relatively moderate wage settlements set earlier this year—or plunges into... outsize wage demands... The UAW, one of the most responsible unions in the U.S. labor movement, has every reason to accept a reasonable... settlement... The auto workers... do not need to worry about rising prices... Unfortunately, UAW leadership has been under increasing pressure from the rank and file to toughen its demands... The union leaders will have to remember that they are negotiating not just a contract with a single company but a wage scale for one of the nation's biggest and most important industries. And they should be... reminded by officials of the Cost of Living Council (wage freeze board, ed.) that this is no time for that industry to commit itself and the nation to an irresponsible wage settlement."**

Thus, this Big Business spokesman set the "ground rules": how goes auto, so goes the nation; continue the wage freeze; continue the "responsible" sellouts by the UAW "leadership; and above all, don't allow "increasing pressure from the rank and file" (especially militants in key plants which can shut the entire industry) to steer you away from the goal of a settlement within the wage freeze. (Comment is obviously unnecessary about the statement that "auto workers... do not need to worry about rising prices.")

THE WOODCOCK SELLOUT

Given this set of circumstances, the Woodcock "leadership" of the UAW developed the following line: since "foreign competition threatens U.S. industry," do nothing to jeopardize the bosses here. Therefore, settle within the 5.5% wage-freeze limit; allow the companies to stockpile cars in case the rank and file forces a strike; continue the "target company" hoax (whereby the UAW strikes only one company at a time, this allegedly "pressuring" a settlement by that company for "fear" of the other two capturing its share of the market); do absolutely nothing about company racism on which much of the Big Three's profits are based; and, finally, never spell out a specific set of demands around which the rank and file might rally in a united way—keep the membership in the dark until settlement day, and even after that, if possible.

Why the "Roadblock" Woodcock piecards pursue such an abject losing strategy is the subject of an article in itself. Suffice it to say here that they are committed to function totally within the capitalist system and are so removed from the rank and file that they are probably incapable of ever changing. To mount the kind of offensive needed to beat the auto bosses would mean an all-out commitment to strike the whole industry at one time, to fight the government, injunctions, the cops, and an all-out onslaught from the Big Three. This was once done, in the mid-thirties,

and it organized the UAW. But the Woodcockers are about as far away from repeating that militance as one can get. They are truly "lieutenants of the capitalist class" in the ranks of the workers. Not prepared to fight the bosses, they have joined them (there is no in-between position). This was demonstrated in all the wildcat walkouts or rank-and-file-forced strikes that preceded these national negotiations; in every one the Woodcock gang **TOOK THE BOSSES' SIDE,** and went so far as to break the strikes when the bosses couldn't.

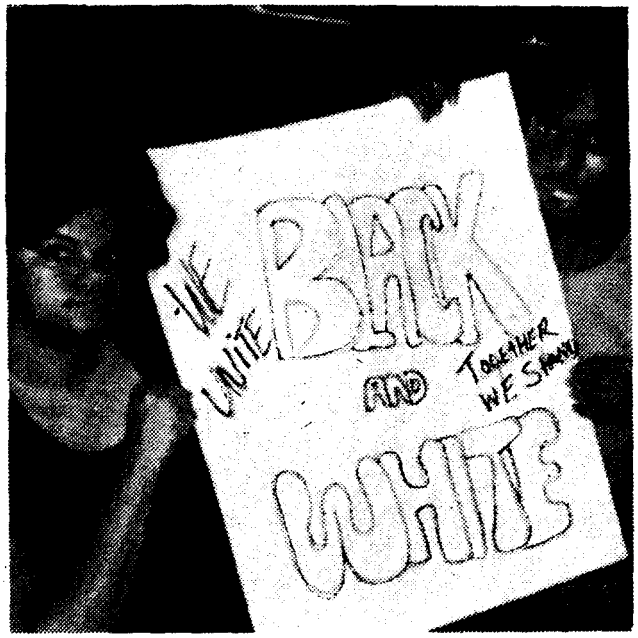
WAM'S STRATEGY TO WIN

Opposed to this sellout strategy was the vast majority of the rank and file, with its only really organized expression coming through various caucuses and especially from members of the Workers Action Movement (WAM) and communists in the Progressive Labor Party. The emergence of WAM was an important difference between the '70 and '73 contract fights. As far back as April '73, at its New York City convention, WAM's members in the UAW had put forward a winning strategy:

- **Strike the Big Three**—only an industry-wide walkout could bring the kind of united strength to bear that could produce a decent contract and would prevent the divisiveness of two companies' workers working like hell while the third's are out on the street walking the picket lines;
- **Bust the wage freeze**—only in this way could auto workers at least catch up to prices running wild, much less get ahead and recoup some of the billions stolen by the bosses subjecting workers to a 5.5% limit;
- **No stockpiling**—strike before the new models come off the lines, so the companies have no cushion with which to withstand a strike, the workers' only real weapon;
- **Fight for 30 for 40**—30 hours work for 40 hours pay, as the single, all-embracing demand uniting all auto workers, that would answer layoffs, speed-up, health and safety hazards, and provide a big hourly pay boost as well as provide more jobs for unemployed auto workers and their sons and daughters;
- Unity nationally, among black, Latin and white auto workers, and internationally among auto workers from all countries and companies—support for each other's struggles—as the only way to beat the company game of pitting one group of workers against another while the bosses steal off with the profits.

In an attempt to rally auto workers around a specific set of demands, WAM and PLP members put forward the following in flyers, local resolutions, organizing committees, etc.: $1.50 an hour wage increase NOW; no forced overtime; 30 for 40; rank and file overseeing of health and safety; end racist harassment (fire openly racist foremen; upgrade minority workers to higher-paying jobs).

These left-wing militants had begun a campaign to organize 30-for-40 committees and achieved this in Local 420 in Cleveland and in the Mack Ave. Chrysler Local 212 in Detroit. WAM members in UAW fighting for 30 for 40 had organized a UAW international 30-for-40 committee meeting among UAW members from Cleveland, Detroit, N.J., and London and Toronto, Ontario.



At Chrysler Mack in Detroit this unity led to trailblazing sit-down strike.

STRIKE THE BIG 3!

Petitions on the backs of WAM flyers demanding of the UAW international executive board, "Don't Sell Us Out" brought responses from many workers. And it was no accident that Chrysler workers interviewed by the **Detroit News** (Aug. 22) about being chosen as the "target" company "felt a strike against Chrysler wasn't enough. 'If the UAW was smart it would strike **all three companies.** That way it would stop all the car action and make the companies listen more carefully to what we have to say." More of the feelings of the rank and file culminated in a Detroit WAM convention held as the strike against Chrysler began, Sept. 15-16, which included one of the most spirited and militant marches Detroit had seen since the early UAW organizing days. But, as much as workers responded to the **words** and program of WAM and PLP, they were even more influenced by **ACTION.**

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Rotten as working conditions are in U.S. auto plants, some of the worst is reserved for the Chrysler plants, concentrated in and around Detroit. Many of these plants contain as much as 90% black workers, which is why the racist Chrysler Corp. would allow enormous health and safety hazards, whether the plants were old and dilapidated or even new. As the summer heat

bore down on already super-oppressed workers in the Chrysler plants, while UAW officials tried to manipulate a sellout contract behind the scenes without a strike, the rank and file erupted. And it was no accident that black workers—men and women—emerged from the ensuing struggles as leaders of the UAW rank and file.

Jefferson Assembly, the main producer of Chryslers and Imperials, is a hellhole of blatant racism. Although black workers comprise most of the plant, they are especially concentrated in the hottest and dirtiest departments, like the body shop and paint department. In Assembly, a higher number of black workers end up in dangerous jobs, such as the pit. The washrooms and lunchrooms are covered with filth, while birds walk around tables eating crumbs and cats and stray rats infest some parts of the plant. Many supervisors make openly racist remarks. One notorious for this racism was Supt. Tom Woolsey. He went so far as to refuse workers permission to sit on barrels during relief time.

Chrysler workers here had had enough. On July 24, two spot welders seized the powerhouse, shut down the line and were backed by 200 workers who sat down in the Body Shop, stopping production and forcing the second shift to be sent home. Chrysler, taken by surprise, was forced to give in to the wildcat strikers' two demands: fire Woolsey and no reprisals against those involved in the action.

Barely two weeks elapsed after this rank-and-file victory, when workers at Chrysler Forge, a key plant in Detroit, wildcatted for six days beginning Aug. 6. Here again murderous safety conditions were at issue. Several workers had had limbs amputated because of accidents there. Workers hit the bricks when a group of militants on the afternoon shift were disciplined for fighting these conditions. Chrysler fired 25 immediately and ran to the courts for an injunction. Nearly 100 workers blocked the gates and tore up injunctions handed to them.

BLACK-WHITE UNITY

An outstanding feature of this walkout was leadership given by **both** black and white workers. This scared the hell out of the company and of UAW Chrysler division chief Douglas Fraser, who attacked the workers as "out to destroy the UAW," refused to believe the charges of unsafe conditions, but then, after making a grandstand "tour" of the plants and admitting things were bad, promised a strike vote on the issue. After six days, the strikers went back.

Chrysler was becoming a volcano of workers' rebellion. It finally boiled over into the first sit-down strike in auto in 36 years.

When the Mack Avenue frame-producing plant became choked with the insufferable July heat, WAM members led a work-action which stopped the lines while the workers met in the aisles to demand fans. The foreman promised them within the hour and the strikers returned to work. This set the stage for what was to follow.

At Mack Ave. Chrysler, not unlike most other plants, one worker was killed and dozens of others suffered amputations in the past year due to deadly working conditions. Racist harassment of a predominantly black work-force was intensifying. Then nine workers were fired for their leadership in the work-action, including several WAM members one of whom, Clint Smith, is treasurer of the Detroit WAM chapter, and another, Bill Gilbreth, is a member of the Progressive Labor Party. (Both were later arrested by Chrysler and face charges with possible 4 year sentences.)

SIT-DOWN!

The workers, decided they'd had enough. Led by WAM members, they seized a key machine on the assembly line on the morning of Aug. 14. Driving off plant guards, they began a sit-down strike reminiscent of the 1930's when the UAW originally unionized the auto plants with this tactic. They organized themselves into three committees, democratically chosen, received support from the outside—plant-gate picketing, food, supplies, etc.—and drew up a list of demands:

- Rehiring of all fired militants;
- Amnesty for all strikers;
- Improved in-plant health and safety;
- No forced overtime;
- Bust the wage freeze;
- The right to refuse all unsafe jobs at all plants;
- 30 hours work for 40 hours pay;
- Strike the Big Three on Sept. 14

What was Chrysler's answer? Threatened arrest, an injunction, and a lockout of the rest of the workers so they couldn't join the sit-down. No negotiations.

And what was the UAW "leadership" answer? Typifying the treachery that has marked their actions at Lordstown, Mahwah, Norwood and the rest, they told Chrysler not to give in! "Sweat it out," whined Douglas Fraser, head of the UAW Chrysler division. And when Chrysler had the cops arrest two WAM leaders of the strike—after the workers had torn up the injunction orders—200 workers over-rode the local president's plea to end it and struck the plant, shutting it tight.

INTERNATIONAL STRIKE-BREAKERS

Since the rank and file saw Chrysler as their enemy and refused to cross this line, it was left up to the UAW **International** leadership to break the strike. Secy.-Treas. Mazey and his four top vice-presidents ordered out every local UAW official in Detroit and descended on the pickets 1,000 strong with knives, bats, guns and blackjacks to destroy the picket line and prod workers to go inside (while Chrysler fired 49 more).

Imagine what would have happened if the union leadership had done the opposite, had been on the workers' side! Had they organized every local in Detroit to SUPPORT the rank and file, Chrysler

would have been brought to its knees, would have been forced to rehire all those fired and would have had to fork over some of their hundreds of millions in profits to clean out all the health and safety hazards in their aging plants. But that kind of leadership will have to wait for the time—fast approaching—when the rank and file will once again take over the UAW and run it as its own.

Why did UAW officials go crazy when they saw the prospect of an industry-wide Chrysler shut-down stemming from the Mack Ave. sit-down strike? According to **"Business Week"** magazine, Aug. 11, they were aiming for a pattern-setting agreement with Chrysler around Aug. 22 which would then "settle everything" without a strike behind the workers' backs. Well, how would it look for such a settlement to be announced while rank-and-file Chrysler workers had shut down the whole works? So call out the goons and break the strike that's putting the crimp in no-fight Woodcock's plans.

No wonder Chrysler boss Townshend applauded this UAW treachery:

"The union was very constructive in the Mack Ave. case... and worked very closely with us in getting the situation behind us." (**Detroit News**, Aug. 22)

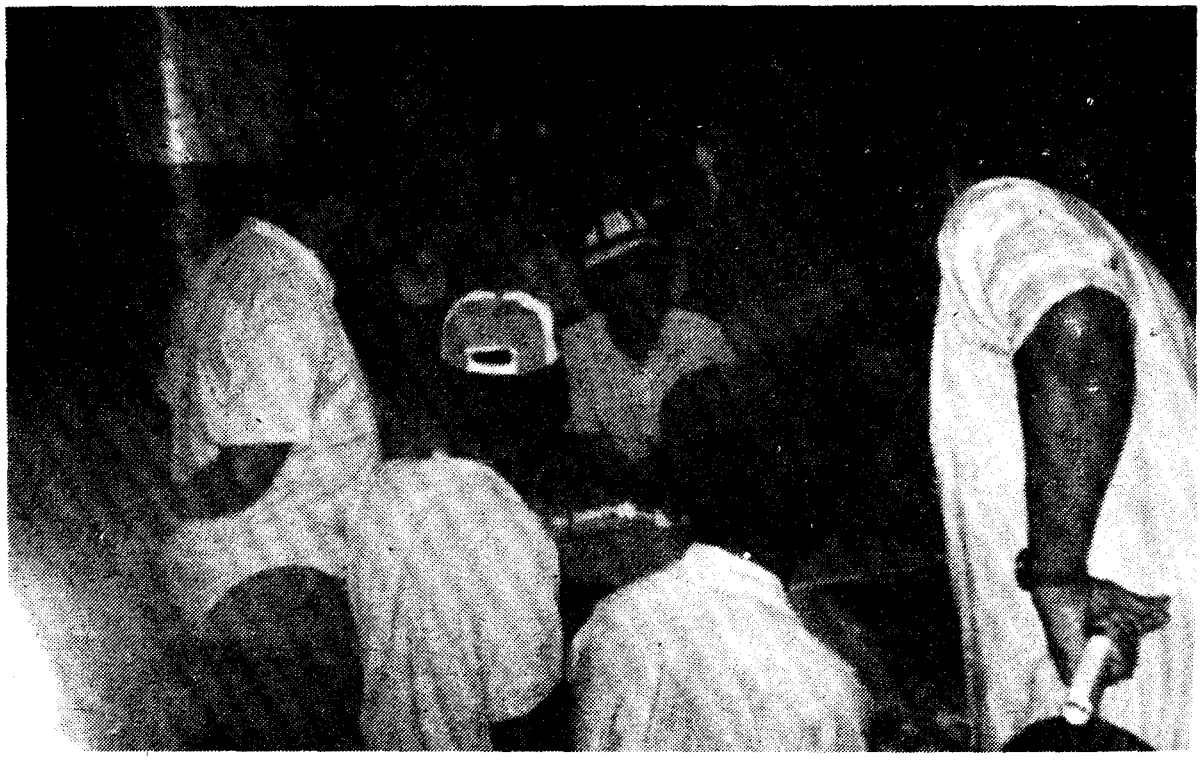
While the auto bosses and the UAW piecards don't like any rank-and-file-led walkouts, they didn't call out goons and launch an all-out assault against any actions prior to Mack Avenue. Why not? Because Mack Avenue had the one ingredient they knew they couldn't cajole, promise away or turn around without plain overwhelming brute force. Mack Avenue had communists and left-wing militants as part of its leadership. They know that communists are not limited by the laws and rules set down by the bosses' system.

UAW BUILT BY COMMUNISTS

This kind of leadership built the UAW in the first place, not the misleadership of the Woodcock-Mazey-Fraser charlatans. Communist leadership organized and led the historic Flint sit-down strike against GM in '37 that first brought unionization to the auto plants. Communist leadership put the rank and file in the saddle, gave no quarter to the enemy whether it was the companies, the government, injunctions, the National Guard, or betrayers within the workers' own ranks. This communist leadership established a militant shop steward system, membership ratification of contracts, union democracy from bottom to top, and won the 8-hour day.

IT'S OUR UNION—NOT MAZEY'S

No, fink Mazey, it's not "your" union that's



Workers at Mack Ave. Chrysler meet inside plant to make plans during the first sit-down strike in auto since the Communist-led organizing drive of the CIO in the 1930's.

being taken away; you and your ilk didn't build it. Just the opposite is the case—it's the likes of Reuther, Woodcock, Mazey and Fraser that TORE THE UNION DOWN. Once you were able to eliminate communist leadership in the UAW after World War II, with the help of the Truman Administration, Walter Reuther signed the first FIVE-YEAR contract in the history of the labor movement in 1950, setting the auto workers up for the kill. This sellout leadership clamped down on the militant tactics that created the UAW in its fighting hey-day. This current "leadership" sat on every attempt by the rank and file to fight the companies and wiped out the last vestiges of democracy in the union. This pack of piecards have betrayed every single rank-and-file-led action against the Big Three in the past 25 years.

The Woodcock ilk has introduced the scab-on-your-brother-local strategy: stagger local strikes after the national contract is jammed through, so many locals work while a few strike over "local" demands. This prevents the auto workers from using their vast potential national strength to win the demands all are fighting for in each plant—slowing the line, safer and healthier working conditions, an end to harassment, etc. This misleadership has tried to cool off every united attempt by black and white workers to fight the growing racism inside the plants.

Now Woodcock & Co. have the gall to whine that the rank and file, led by members of WAM and PLP, are taking away what they built! Yes, if it means this rising rank-and-file movement aims to "take away" sellout contracts, a no-strike policy, "target company" nonsense, and re-build the UAW as its own, then it's true—we DO want to take away what you've built into a virtual company union that works hand-in-glove with GM, Ford and Chrysler.

Communists led the auto workers out of the old AFL in 1934-36 and into the militant CIO. Now, after a quarter-century of betrayal which delivered the UAW-CIO into the arms of the auto billionaires, it falls once again to communists in PLP and to militants in an organization like WAM to reclaim the UAW for the rank and file.

This is what the auto moguls and their junior partners in the UAW leadership really fear—rank-and-file organization led by communists to bury them. The Mack Avenue sit-down strike contained the seeds of the future—militant action for workers' needs and demands; democratically elected committees to run workers' affairs; sharing of responsibility; defiance of bosses' laws and injunctions; unity of all workers; the special leadership that is being exercised by black workers, men and women, growing out of the special oppression heaped on these workers by the companies. Mack Avenue proved once again that the rank and file can seize the initiative and turn things around.

KEY LESSON: REVOLUTION

And it is precisely in these kinds of seeds that the idea of workers' control over EVERYTHING can be nurtured—control over production, over all industry, over the government—running everything in the class interests of working people and their friends. Yes, that's something the enemy knows also, that the seeds of workers' socialist power are being planted in the sit-downs and walk-outs at Chrysler, Ford and GM. Failure by the communists of the 30's and 40's to openly pursue these socialist goals, which grew logically right out of the class struggle, weakened their political base among the workers and contributed to their —and the workers'—defeat.

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• The rank-and-file-led strikes at Chrysler, culminating in the Mack Ave. sit-down, forced Woodcock to pick Chrysler as the "target" company while, at the same time, preventing him from sighing an immediate sellout agreement with that company in August. When negotiations ground down to the Sept. 14 deadline, Chrysler workers, coming off the militancy of these recent walkouts, "jumped the gun" and shut the billion-dollar corporation that last morning. While no doubt Chrysler and Woodcock would have wanted to "extend the contract" on a day-to-day basis, the actions of the rank and file said "No!" They were telling the piecards that the only way to win was to walk. Truly the rank and file forced a strike.

But, with GM and Ford working full blast, with hardly any support organized from other workers except by WAM and PLP, and with no organized rank-and-file leadership cutting across local lines —in effect, with no viable alternative to the UAW "leadership"—the workers were ground down over a 9-day period.

The UAW allowed five Chrysler parts manufacturing plants to keep working since they supplied parts to GM and Ford, on the "theory" that the "threat" of these two to capture Chrysler's market would force Chrysler to settle. But Chrysler really made a mockery of this losing "strategy." After all, if Chrysler was so "worried" about losing out to GM and Ford, all they had to do was shut these parts plants and turn off the supply to their "competitors." But, actually, the Big Three work very closely together when it comes to screwing the auto workers. No strike-free auto company would allow a struck company to be driven to the wall and settle "too high," since it would set a precedent for those to follow. The only winning strategy is to shut the entire Big Three **ALL AT ONCE.** This has never been part of the Reuther-Woodcock "game plan."

CHRYSLER 'MOCKERY' ACCEPTED

Chrysler's first offer of a 3% annual wage increase was "rejected" by Woodcock as a "mockery." Yet, when the final agreement was approved by Woodcock and his Executive Board, this is exactly what was accepted, 3 per cent, barely **half** of the 5.5% even allowed by the wage freeze! This crass sellout on wages would insure real wage **cuts** throughout the life of a 3-year contract, with the cost of living skyrocketing, unless the

workers force an immediate re-opening.

The rest of the contract follows a similar sell-out pattern: much rhetoric about health and safety, with not one ironclad enforcement clause in the hands of the workers; fringe benefits to wait on the 2nd and 3rd years of the contract (and pension improvements not to be finalized for five years—if a worker is around to receive them); newly-hired workers are to get a 45¢-an-hour wage **CUT** while on probation, saving Chrysler $18 a week per worker! And the great "increase" in the cost of living allowance (COLA) is so constructed that it guarantees any addition in wages will be 50% **BEHIND** the actual hike in prices, even according to government figures.

The handling of the forced overtime issue was typical. With workers demanding voluntary overtime, tired of 6- and 7-day weeks, 10 to 12 hours a day, Woodcock & Co. felt they at least had to pay lip service on this issue. So they came up with an "agreement" so full of exceptions that "voluntary" overtime becomes meaningless.

The contract guarantees that workers must work at least 9 hours a day, virtually 6 days a week—a 54-hour week. They are only allowed every 3rd Saturday off, and lose even that crumb if they dare take a day off for any reason during a week or do not notify the company on the previous Monday that they don't want to work overtime on Saturday. And those in "critical" plants cannot refuse overtime even if they fulfill all these conditions. Nor can anyone refuse just after model changeover. Nor can workers even talk to each other about refusing overtime because the union guarantees that "proper protection is to be provided against concerted actions."(!) This is what Woodcock calls a "breakthrough" on "voluntary" overtime. All it does is guarantee a back-breaking 54-hour week, nullifying the 40-hour week won 35 years ago.

BOSSES 'PLEASED'

No wonder the Chrysler vice-president in charge of labor relations said the company was "very pleased with the terms of the contract." And no wonder Woodcock was booed at the first plant he went to ask approval, in Windsor, Ontario.

But with Woodcock and his machine firmly in control, they were able to develop the feeling among the rank and file that a "no" vote won't change the pre-arranged result, causing less to come to ratification meetings and even less to stay to vote. Further, the leadership controls the counting of the votes. And 120,000 retired members of the UAW in the Big Three are allowed to vote, although they no longer work on the line (and basically favored the contract because it contained pension increases). Finally, the unit voting system enables a 51% "yes" vote in any local to put that entire local voting strength on the "yes" side. That's just what happened at the huge, 10,000-worker Dodge Main Assembly plant, 51% (including retirees) voting "yes" (according to the leadership), thereby counting the entire local as in favor.

In this way, a majority of the Chrysler membership could have rejected the contract but no one except the leadership would know it. It's even possible that a majority of Chrysler's 117,000 members didn't even vote. (As it is, Woodcock was forced to report that plants in Twinsburg, Ohio, Van Wert Amplex, Ohio, Warren, Mich. and St. Louis, trucks, and parts depots in Boston, New York and Pittsburgh all rejected the contract, despite all the threats and soft-soaping of the bureaucrats.) However, all this wasn't enough and a "yes" vote was jammed through, the workers returning after nine days.

Once Chrysler was out of the way, attention turned to Ford as the next "target." Here, without a strike—at least in the U.S.—(not having had the militant build-up of the Chrysler wildcats in the nerve-center in Detroit), a similar sellout was agreed to—also a 3% wage "hike"; little more than more union full-timers as the "advance" on health and safety; some nonsense about "job enrichment" to counter the hated repetition on the assembly lines; and an even worse agreement than Chrysler on overtime.

FORD'S 58-HOUR WEEK

In the Ford assembly plants, workers can be forced to work **10** hours a day (not 9 as in Chrysler) and at least six 8-hour Saturdays a year, plus more based on "exceptions." These "exceptions" include the three to four weeks after production starts on new models or until line-speed reaches scheduled production, **"whichever is later."** Who determines when that is reached? Ford, who else? And all the other "exceptions" in the Chrysler contract are included in Ford's also. Some "breakthrough."

However, Woodcock and the company ran into two hitches in the Ford signing: a U.S. skilled trades veto and a strike in Canada. While the UAW is an industrial union, some time ago Reuther gave the skilled trades an alleged veto power over contracts. This only serves to divide the workers against their common enemy, the company. This contract, and others, doesn't fill the needs of either production or skilled workers. But skilled crafts at Ford saw a threat to their jobs in a clause which would permit others—outside contract labor, part-timers or production workers—to perform their jobs if they "refused overtime." The 28,000 workers in the Ford skilled trades voted 4 to 1 **against** the contract.

Supposedly this should nullify the entire agreement. But Woodcock said no, it only meant that this particular clause for the skilled trades (which they "misunderstood" anyway) would have to be re-negotiated. Then Ken Bannon, UAW Ford division "leader," announced a "second" vote at the huge River Rouge complex, in Local 600. This infuriated the workers who had voted it down the first time, so this vote was running 20 to 1 against the sellout when Bannon called it off. His action followed an attempted murder of a Ford

Members of WAM, PLP, and other workers support wildcat sit-down from outside Mack Ave. Chrysler plant gates.

worker speaking loudly against the agreement by a machine committeeman/officer in Local 600. All of Bannon's henchmen had orders to "bring in the vote" and they were obviously going "all out" to do it.

CANADIANS REVOLT

In Ontario, Ford workers at Oakville and Talbotville forced a two-week strike by walking out two days before the deadline, forcing Ford to close both plants. This was a strike that had been postponed once so it wouldn't come at the same time that the U.S. skilled trades were rejecting their contract, with the possibility that a joint U.S.-Canada Ford walkout might ensue.

Canadian Ford boss McDermott blamed the strike on "militant extremists." Meanwhile he and his cronies went back on their "pledge" to make a stand on voluntary overtime, guaranteeing a 48-hour work-week in the contract. This was something Talbotville had supposedly "won" four years ago in a wildcat. But Local 1520 chairman Revers completely exposed his sellout crew by first implying an all-out fight for voluntary overtime and then telling the strikers, "You can stay out on strike and you still won't get voluntary overtime." This threat of a long strike getting nowheres acted as a brake on the rank and file who were finally forced to swallow the sellout.

Thousands of leaflets were distributed by members of WAM and of the communist Canadian Party of Labour and warmly received by the strikers, many of whom were won to WAM. A meeting organized by WAM saw workers from Toronto and London, Ontario and Detroit and Cleveland make plans to carry the fight to the coming UAW constitutional convention this Spring.

Although it was also "announced" that Ford workers had "accepted" the contract—which even big business spokesmen gleefully applauded as "surprisingly moderate"—there was plenty of opposition among production workers, too. When Woodcock went to the Local 420 ratification meeting in Cleveland, he was roundly booed by the members attending. A PLP and WAM member, chairman of the Local's 30-for-40 committee, got up to condemn Woodcock and the contract as sellouts. When Woodcock tried to "explain" how the new cost of living allowance would "greatly benefit" the workers, many gave their answer by throwing pennies at him onto the stage. They then proceeded to officially vote the contract down in Woodcock's presence.

However, these actions were few and far between. The Woodcock machine, organized nationally, was too much for the rank and file to overcome, not being organized more than in scattered locals. Once again the need for a broad, cross-local organization was shown, the kind WAM is trying to create, especially around the unifying demand of 30 for 40.

The "flak" at Ford prompted the UAW piecards to postpone the "deadline" at GM, fearing a confrontation with both Ford and GM workers at the same time. But as soon as Ford was tucked away,

Workers' Action Movement demonstration in Detroit, including U.S. and Canadian auto workers, vows to fight for 30 for 40 and to prepare for more bold action against the Big 3.

they proceeded to jam it through at GM. The only "problems" remaining are the local agreements, some of which may not be negotiated for a long time with the union considerably weakened in the face of a do-nothing policy towards current mass layoffs.

No sooner was the ink dry on the GM settlement when the very next day the Cost of Living Council (wage freeze board) in Washington announced that "controls" were off in the auto industry. This sacred, holier-than-thou limit on workers' wages and benefits, which Woodcock said had to be upheld at all costs, was suddenly no more. What did that mean for the auto workers? Not a damn thing, since they had just been neatly locked into a 3-year contract with a 3% wage "increase." But what did it mean for the companies? An immediate announcement of a $150 price increase on all cars! And nearly simultaneously the beginning of mass layoffs at the entire Big Three, layoffs against which the just-concluded settlement had not one bit of protection. What a Christmas present for the auto bosses.

FIGHT-BACK INEVITABLE

But if the bosses think that the swindle they're trying to pull now—blaming layoffs on the "energy crisis" while they undertake a well-planned change-over to small-car production, in order to reap even greater profits than the near—$4 billion in 1973—that this will just go through without opposition from the workers, they'd better think twice. WAM is now an international organization, with members among auto workers in cities throughout Canada and the U.S., including communists from the PLP and CPL. An international program is being put forward to combat the attempt of the auto billionaires to shift the burden of their economic crisis onto the workers' backs. This includes taking the offensive with a drive for 30 hours work for 40 hours pay. A recent WAM flyer said it well:

Strike Against Auto Layoffs:

RE-OPEN THE CONTRACT!

30 Hours Work for 40 Hours Pay Must Be Rank-&-File's Answer to Unemployment

THE BIG THREE'S '73 CHRISTMAS "bonus" to auto workers was layoffs for nearly 200,000—150,000 at GM, 30,000 at Ford and over 10,000 at Chrysler—and there's much more to come. Nixon's not appointing any special commissioner to handle this very real crisis for auto workers, mass unemployment. He's too busy vacationing in Key West or San Clemente while he tells us to keep the heat down. Well, we've got news for him. We're about to turn the heat **UP**, in more ways than one!

Let's look at the facts: GM, Ford and Chrysler claim they must lay off auto workers because of the "energy crisis." Sales of big cars are down, etc. But what they **don't** say is that **they've been planning for a major change-over to production of compacts for several years** (this is something they can't do overnight). During this period, they want to use the energy business to make the workers pay for any mistakes they have made.

The fact is unemployment was up in auto **long before** the energy crisis. Michigan showed an 8.2 per cent jobless rate, nearly twice the national average. This wasn't due to any gas shortage. It was because of **company speed-up** and consequent layoffs. That's what the GMAD strikes at Lordstown, Norwood and elsewhere were all about.

The combination of speed-up, layoffs, jacked up car prices and no real wage increases for auto workers has led to exactly what one would think: **RECORD BIG THREE PROFITS, APPROACHING $4 BILLION A YEAR!**

Yet, the auto companies were able to pull a swindle of a contract which "provides" for a 3 per cent wage "increase" per year plus a cost-of-living "allowance" that guarantees COLA increases must fall 50 per cent **BEHIND** the increase in prices; a contract that has absolutely no provision for security against these current mass layoffs; the kind of a contract that falls **below** the limits of Phase IV freeze levels. This 3 per cent "increase" was first called a "mockery" by Woodcock when the companies initially offered it. Then he turned around and signed it and jammed it through under the UAW "unit" voting system, with probably a majority of auto workers so disgusted they didn't even vote.

No Crisis Here!

PROFITS OF BIG THREE FOR 1973

(Projected annual rate for '73 based on net profits, after all taxes, of first nine months of 1973)

GM	$2,507,000,000
Ford	$1,132,000,000
Chrysler	$ 241,000,000
Total	$3,880,000,000

(That's $705 million MORE than 1972!)

That the contract was a swindle, that it was really signed under false pretenses when it made the 5.5 per cent Phase IV freeze sacred and not to be broken, all was exploded the day after the GM ratification vote. The ink was barely dry on the last of the Big Three's contracts when the Cost of Living Council announced controls were "off" in the auto industry. The companies immediately hiked their prices $150 per car and began laying off tens of thousands.

Yes, Virginia, there **IS** a crisis. **Not** for GM, Ford and Chrysler, who have made record profits, are raising prices all the time while speeding up and laying off workers. There's a crisis for auto workers who are saddled with a three-year sellout contract that contains absolutely **NO DEFENSE** against mass unemployment, skyrocketing prices and speed-up. That's why we say **RE-OPEN THE CONTRACT** that was signed under false pretenses, and demand:

—No layoffs for any reason.

—Thirty hours work for forty hours pay—30 for 40 is the only way auto workers can press for **more** jobs and defend against layoffs and speed-up, to be paid for out of record company profits; the only way to appreciably cut the accident rate, which figures prove go up sharply after six hours. Thirty for forty is the wave of the future, just as the 8-hour day was the

(Continued on other side)

rallying cry when the UAW was first organized.

Absolutely no forced overtime, with no gimmicks or conditions.

—**Rank-and-file-controlled safety** provisions, WITHOUT company interference.

—**Preferential upgrading** for minority and women workers, the hardest hit by mass layoffs, so that the divisive weapon of discrimination can be taken away from the auto bosses.

How can we achieve these and other needed demands? Make the April International UAW Convention one to **RE-OPEN THE CONTRACT:**

1. Run rank-and-file delegates to go to this convention fighting for the above demands.
2. Submit local resolutions around these demands.
3. Form caucuses of delegates to the convention to fight for these resolutions.
4. Circulate the petition on this flyer.

IN OUR PLANTS WE SHOULD ORGA-nize against layoffs by slowdowns, strict enforcement of safety and health, and on-the-spot walkouts. Join the Workers Action Movement. WAM chapters can take the lead in this fight, just as they did against the heat at Mahway, N.J. Ford and against health and safety hazards at Detroit Mack Ave. Chrysler.

Our rallying cry must be:

RE-OPEN THE CONTRACT!
STRIKE AGAINST LAYOFFS!
THIRTY FOR FORTY!
MAKE THE BOSSES PAY!

Re-open the Contract

TO THE UAW INTERNATIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD:

We, the undersigned members of the UAW, demand that the collective bargaining agreements with GM, Ford and Chrysler be re-opened immediatly, that we fight to stop all layoffs now, and that the demand for 30 hours work for 40 hours pay become part of our contracts.

Name	Address	Local
1.		
2.		
3.		
4.		
5.		
6.		

Fill out this petition and mail to Workers Action Movement (auto division), 14542 Fenkell, Detroit, Michigan 48227 for forwarding to the UAW International Executive Board.)

To Contact WAM....

Detroit	313-869-5694; 868-3051; 838-8196
Cleveland	216-587-3233
Toronto	416-266-5273; 533-7758
Montreal	514-845-5518
Buffalo	716-893-5368
New York City	212-929-9328; 545-3472
New Jersey	201-375-0418
Baltimore-Washington, D.C.	292-773-7406
Framingham-Boston, Mass.	617-298-5136
Chicago	312-667-0392;583-1592; 486-3168
Minnesota	612-338-8095
Atlanta	404-622-6339
San Jose/San Francisco	415-863-1069
Los Angeles	213-383-3338
Kansas City, Mo.	816-561-5751
St. Louis, Mo.	314-721-0773

Workers Action Movement (auto division)
14542 Fenkell, Detroit, Michigan

☐ **I would like more copies of this leaflet.**

☐ **I would like more information about WAM.**

Name.....

Address.....

City.....**State**.....**Zip**.....

Local.....**Phone**.....

"So long as there is one worker who seeks employment and cannot find it, the hours of labor are too long.

Hypertension (High Blood Pressure): Sickness Derived From the Bosses. Cure: Smash Racist System!

RACISM AND HYPERTENSION

There is in the United States today a disease which affects 20% of the population and 30-40% of the black population (Table 1)1 and which shortens the life of or cripples most of its victims. This disease is easily treatable and is in some measure preventable. It is called high blood pressure or hypertension. Despite these alarming figures, little is being done by the government of the medical profession to control the problem. In this article we will attempt to analyze this apparent contradiction by showing: 1) that the prevalence of hypertension in the U.S. is related to social and economic conditions, specifically to racial and class oppression; 2) that genetics, diet, body build, and geography cannot explain the high incidence of hypertension in black people; and 3) that the fact that high blood pressure disproportionately affects poor people and minorities accounts for its neglect.

WHAT IS HIGH BLOOD PRESSURE?

Blood pressure is the hydrostatic pressure within the blood vessels which is generated by the pumping action of the heart. It is measured in millimeters of mercury (mm Hg) and expressed as two numbers. The higher number (systolic pressure) represents the maximum pressure generated when the heart contracts, and the lower number (diastolic pressure) represents the minimum pressure during relaxation of the heart. A certain level of pressure is necessary during relaxation of the heart. A certain level of pressure is necessary to deliver oxygenated blood to the vital organs, but a pressure above this level has harmful effects. In any person, the blood pressure fluctuates with position, activity, or stress, but in hypertensive individuals, the blood pressure is nearly always above a "normal" level. Within the population, blood pressures are distributed in a unimodal or bell-type curve*, and there is no exact level above which detrimental consequences always occur and below which there are none. However, when the systolic pressure is over 140 and/or the diastolic pressure is over 90, the frequency of ill effects increases dramatically. These numbers are usually designated as the upper limits of normal.

95% of people with high blood pressure have so called essential hypertension, which means that there is no known physiologic cause. (We will discuss the close association of environment with high blood pressure in a later section.) The remaining five per cent of people with high blood pressure have hypertension as a secondary manifestation of another disease, such as adrenal tumor, toxemia of pregnancy, or kidney disease. We will focus on essential hypertension because this is the condition which affects the great majority of patients.

Essential hypertension usually begins at age 20 to 50 but causes no symptoms for about twenty years. However, nearly all hypertensives will eventually develop heart failure, coronary artery disease, strokes, aneurysms, or kidney damage. These disastrous events are often the patient's first indication of disease, and thus many hypertensives do not actively seek treatment early in their course.

The statistical relation between the dangers of hypertension and increased morbidity and mortality have been for twenty years. Actuarial data collected by life insurance companies2 show that a 35 year old man with an untreated blood pressure of 130/90 has lost four years from his projected life expectancy, and with a pressure of 150/100 he has lost 17 years. More recently, several studies which have documented the causal relation between hypertension and serious complications or death have been published. The Veterans Administration Cooperative Study was a prospective study* of male veterans which assessed the risks of hypertension and the benefits of therapy. 37% of untreated men with moderate hypertension (diastolic pressures of 115-129) died or developed severe complications within 15 months from the beginning of the study3. 55% of men with untreated mild hypertension (diastolics of 90-114) died or developed complications within five years4. The Framingham study5, in which 5209 mormotensive adults were followed for 14 years, showed that the risk of developing a stroke rose directly with elevations in blood pressure above 140/90 (Fig. 1). 85% of all thrombotic strokes which occurred in the study were in

*See Appendix

*See Appendix

Age Group (yr)	Definite Hypertension* (%)	Borderline Hypertension† (%)
	White Males	
18-79	12.8	17.7
18-24	1.7	11.6
25-34	3.6	11.7
35-44	11.8	14.9
45-54	16.5	17.3
55-64	20.2	28.4
65-74	25.0	26.6
75-79	30.3	27.1
	White Females	
18-79	15.3	12.3
18-24	0.9	1.6
25-34	2.3	3.4
35-44	6.2	8.3
45-54	15.5	15.4
55-64	30.6	24.4
65-74	46.6	24.8
75-79	44.1	27.3
	Black Males	
18-79	26.7	14.9
18-24	1.9	7.3
25-34	12.5	15.4
35-44	26.5	10.4
45-54	30.9	23.1
55-64	44.6	21.7
65-74	52.7	21.5
75-79	59.8	21.4
	Black Females	
18-79	26.6	11.2
18-24	3.4	...
25-34	8.6	1.6
35-44	25.7	12.3
45-54	41.3	14.6
55-64	37.9	27.1
65-74	64.1	20.8
75-79	69.5	30.5

NOTE: From National Center for Health Statistics Public Health Service Publication No. 1000, Series 11, No. 13, Hypertension and Hypertensive Heart Disease in Adults, United States, 1960-62, Table 2, May 1966(1).

* 160 mm Hg or over systolic, or 95 mm Hg or over diastolic.

† Below 160 mm Hg systolic and below 95 mm Hg diastolic, but not simultaneously below both 140 and 90 mm Hg.

Table 1. Prevalence of Definite and Borderline Hypertension — United States Population by Race, Sex, and Age

hypertensive patients.

The American Heart Association[6] pooled six prospective studies of high blood pressure in white men age 30-59 and found that the incidence of heart attacks was ten times higher in young men with diastolics over 104 when compared to men with normal blood pressures and was increased to a lesser degree with diastolics of 85-104. There is also evidence that systolic hypertension is associated with an increased incidence of coronary artery disease, heart attacks, and strokes (Fig. 2).[7 8 9 10]

Treatment is highly effective in preventing complications and death in mild and moderate hypertension. The VA studies have shown that the blood pressure can be reduced to normal (140/90 or less) in nearly all patients (Fig. 3). In those with moderate hypertension, the incidence of heart failure, stroke, kidney disease, and sudden death was decreased by 15 times in the treated patients, leading the researchers to discontinue the study after three years.**3** Even in mild hypertensives, the benefits of therapy were striking. The incidence of complications fell by 75% in patients with pre-treatment diastolics of 105-114 and by 35% in those with diastolics of 90-104.**4** This study was discontinued after five years. Malignant hypertension, a severe and rapidly progressive form of the disease, carried a three year life expectancy before therapy was available, but now has a significantly improved prognosis when treated before renal and cardiac impairment occur."

RACE AND HYPERTENSION

Hypertension is much more common and more severe in blacks than in whites in the United States. The National Health Survey of 1960-2 showed that the prevalence of hypertension was 30.5% in white men as compared to 41.6% in black men (Table 1)**1**. Other surveys have shown an even greater incidence of hypertension in the U.S. black population. A recent screening of 4220 residents of Harlem found that 33% had diastolics over 95**12**. A 1960 survey in Charleston, South Carolina**13** found that black males aged 35-44 had a 10% incidence of diastolic pressures over 100 compared to 1% of white males (Fig. 4).

Hypertension is not only more common among blacks, it is more lethal (Fig. 5). A survey of nationwide mortality statistics in 1950**14** showed that the death rate from complications of hypertension was higher for blacks in every state and was 5 to 9 times higher than that for whites in the 30-35 year old age group. U.S. vital statistics for the year 1967**15** indicate a death rate from hypertension of 66 per 100,000 in black men as compared to 16 per 100,000 in white men. Correcting for the higher prevalence of hypertension in blacks, these statistics indicate that the mortality risk for the black man is approximately twice that for the white man. Death rates from hypertensive disease in New York City in 1970**16** were almost 2-1/2 times as great in black men of all ages as compared to white men and six times as great as in white men from ages 25-44. The Charleston study**13** demonstrated that the death

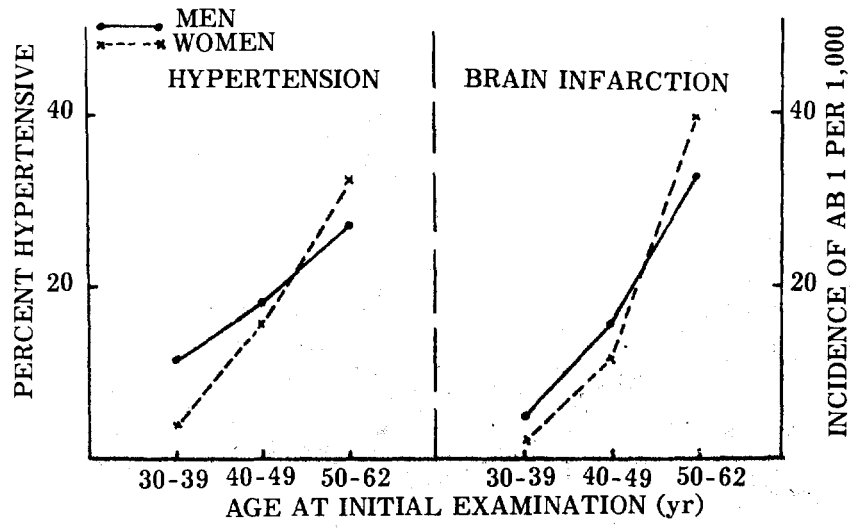


Figure 1. Prevalence of Hypertension and Incidence of Strokes by Age and Sex in the Framingham Stury. Men and Woman Aged 30-62 at Entry5

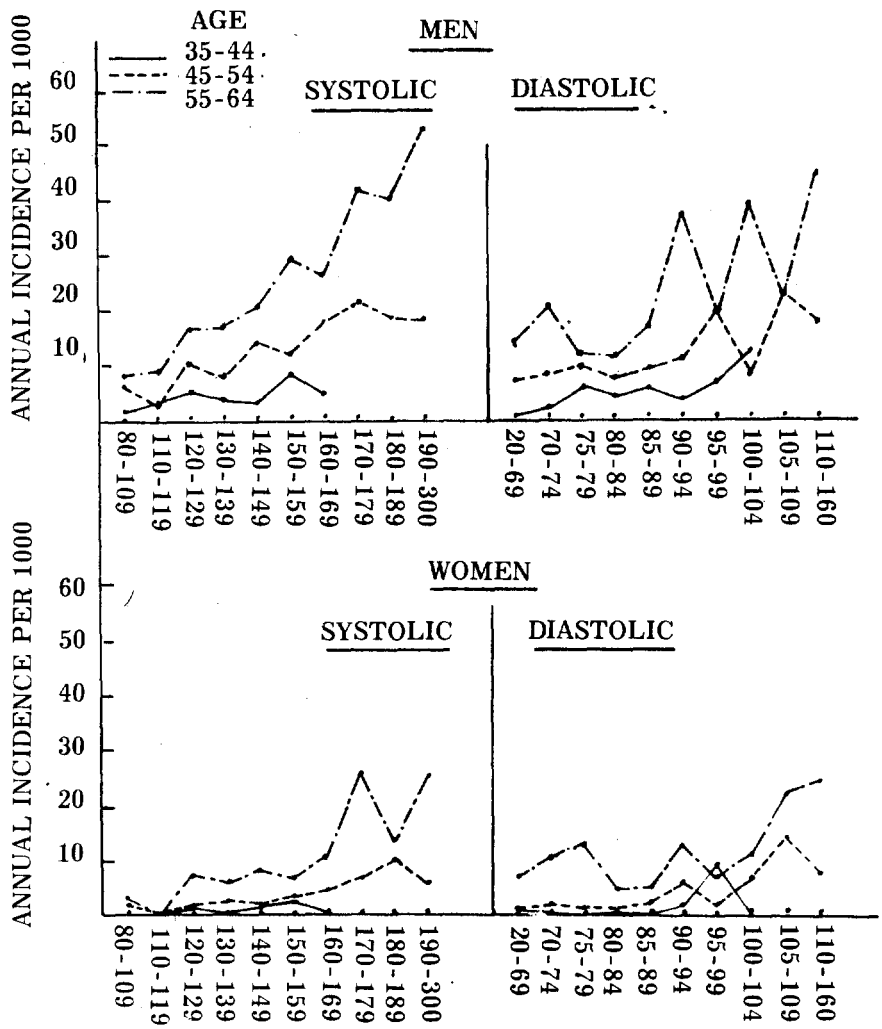
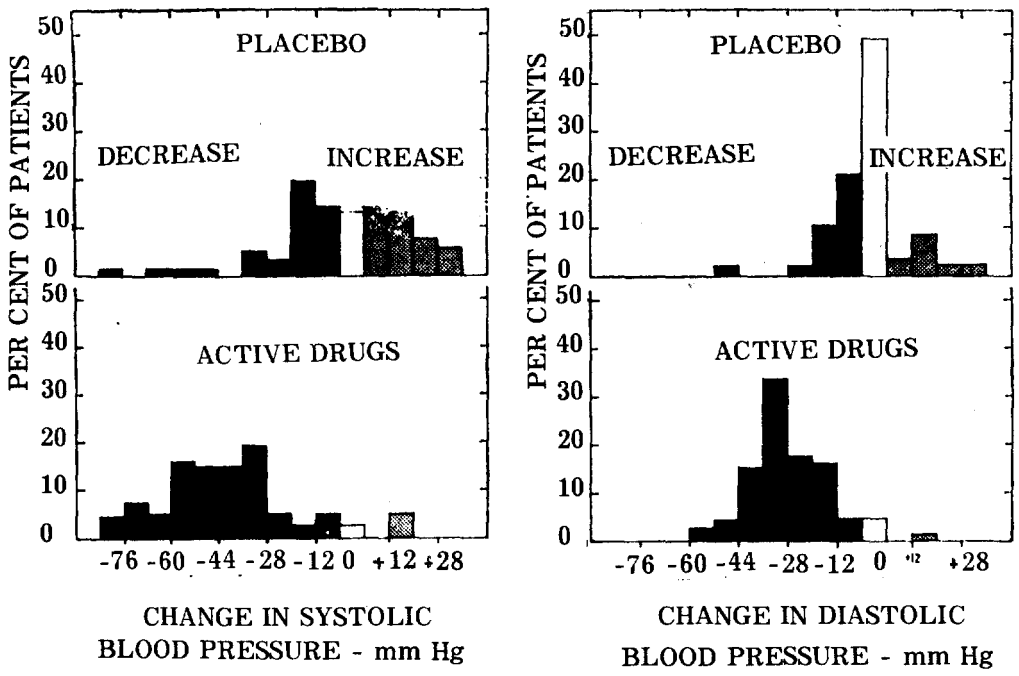
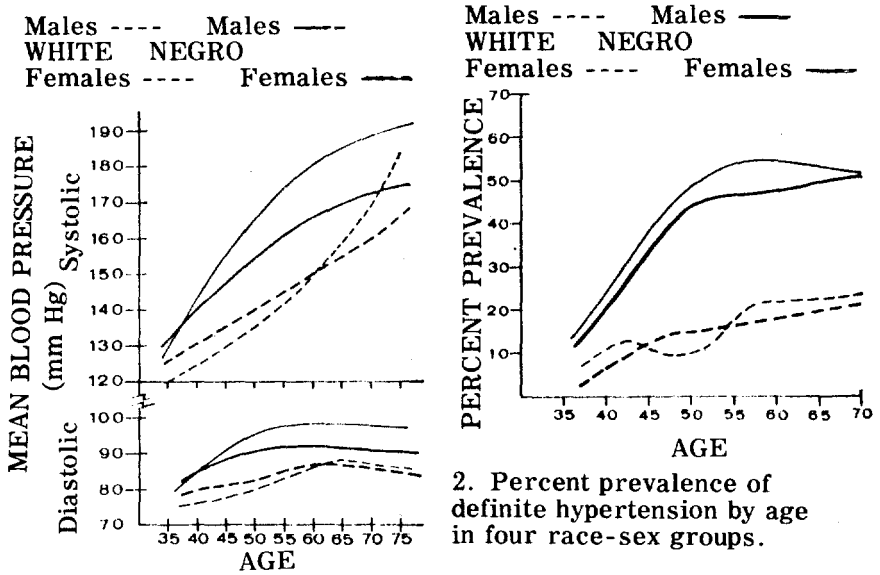


Figure 2. Average Annual Incidence of Coronary Heart Disease (14 Year Follow-up) According to Systolic vs. Diastolic Blood Pressure. (Men and Women Aged 35-64 Years, Framingham study)8



Changes in systolic (left) and diastolic blood pressure (right) after four months of treatment in 57 patients given placebos (above) and 68 patients treated with hydrochlorothiazide plus reserpine plus hydralazine (below).

Figure 3. Effects of Treatment vs. Nontreatment in Men with Moderate Hypertension. The VA Cooperative Study3



1. Mean blood pressure by age in four race-sex groups.

2. Percent prevalence of definite hypertension by age in four race-sex groups.

Figure 4. The Charleston Heart Study13

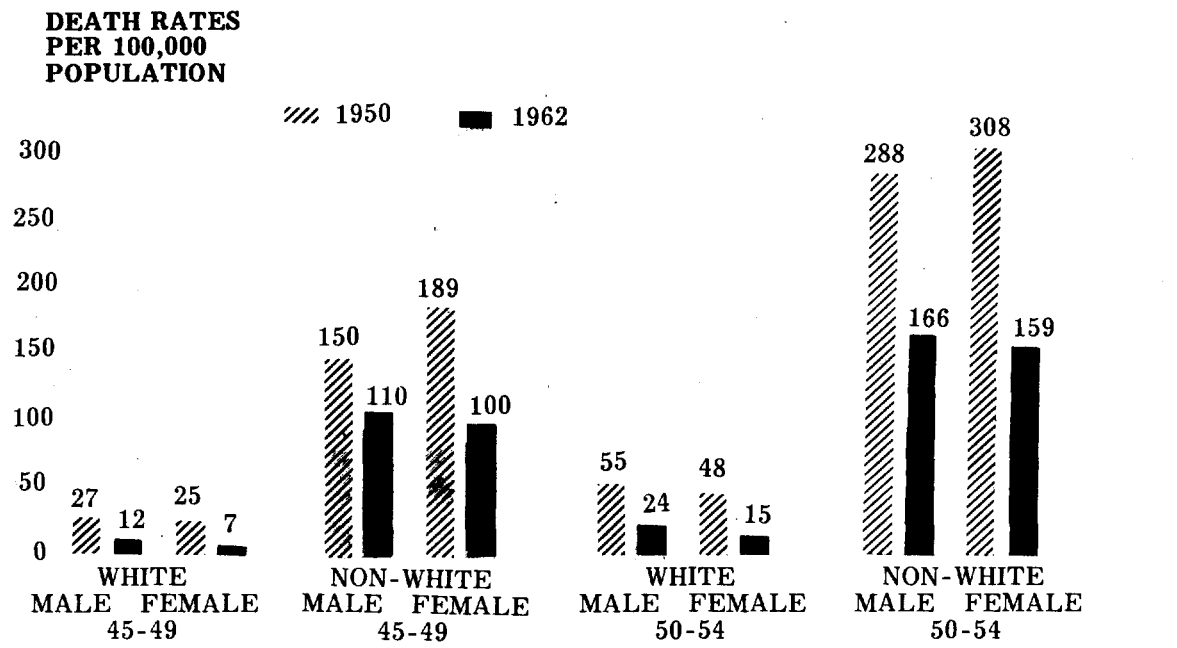


Figure 5. U.S. Hypertensive Death Rates by Age, Sex, and Color, 1950 and 1962 53

rate from strokes in 35-44 year old black men was 10-20 times that of the whole male U.S. population of that age (Table 2).

HEREDITY VERSUS ENVIRONMENT

There has long been a debate in the hypertension literature over whether heredity or environment plays the greater role in determining the differences in blood pressure between blacks and whites, or in determining an individual's blood pressure. In the following sections we will show that: 1) there is no convincing evidence that heredity is the major influence on a person's blood pressure or in determining group differences; 2) it is not possible to explain black-white differences by postulating differences in salt intake, physical activity, body build or obesity, and 3) there is convincing evidence that socio-economic factors and psychological stress play a major role in individual and group differences. The fact that American blacks have far more of this disease than American whites reflects the objective oppression and racism directed at blacks in the United States.

THE GENETIC ARGUMENT

When dealing with the question of the role of genetic factors in determining the level of blood pressure, there are two separate questions which must be answered and which are often confused. First within a defined population group, is hypertension inherited? Second, does hereditability within a group explain differences between groups?

The idea that hypertension can be inherited within a group as a simple Mendelian one gene trait* has no evidence to support it. If such were the case, we would expect to find a single anatomical or physiological trait common to all hypertensives. Instead, blood pressure is the result of multiple factors, such as cardiac output, vessel resistance, blood viscosity and volume, electrolyte levels, and the levels of various adrenal and renal hormones. The evidence is increasing that there are several, if not many, paths to hypertension. For example, there are subgroups with high, normal, and low renen levels, but even within these subgroups single mechanistic classes have not been identified.

Moreover, a trait inherited in a Mendelian fashion within a population divides that population into separable subgroups, those without the trait and those with it, or into three groups if there is a difference between heterozygous and homozygous phenotype.* Hypertension, however, is distributed along a near bell-shaped curve within the population, even when standardized for age. Although it is true that this unimodal curve could be the summation of many bimodal or trimodal curves, no such curves have been documented by those arguing for the genetic origin of hypertension. The single dominant gene theory is no longer taken seriously in the literature.

The more commonly accepted and much more complicated theory says that blood pressure is a result of multifactorial hereditary and environmental influences, but there is a debate as to which is more significant. The major and most quoted proponent of the predominantly hereditary

*See Appendix

Causes!	No. of Deaths Males	Females
Arteriosclerotic heart disease (ISC 420)	White 505 Negro 366	White 112 Negro 266
Cerebrovascular disease (ISC 330-334)	White 136 Negro 708	White 69 Negro 761
Hypertensive disease (ISC 440-447)	White 37 Negro 232	White 30 Negro 266
All causes	White 1,258 Negro 2,982	White 513 Negro 2,457

Table 2. Charleston Death Rates Per 100,000 Population for Several Causes13

school is Sir Robert Platt.17 His conclusions were based on a comparison of three pairs of hypertensive identical twins and four pairs of hypertensive fraternal twins. The three patients with identical twins all had diasotlics of 130-150 and the only evidence that their hypertension was essential is as follows: of one it is said that he "was admitted to the hospital for treatment of malignant essential hypertension," for the second it is said "there was no evidence of renal disease, but (gout) remains an unlikely possibility," and for the third it is stated that she "went through four hypertensive pregnancies." There is no further physical, laboratory, or historical data on the patients or their similarly hypertensive twins. To eliminate environment as a factor, the author tells us that at present two of his middle-aged twins live 100 miles apart, and that of his third pair only one has been pregnant. There is no discussion of diet, body build, occupation, living conditions, or previous life history. These three sets of twins are then compared to four pairs of nonidentical twins, two pairs of which the author admits have secondary hypertension, rendering them irrelevant to this study. The other two pairs of nonidentical twins both have mild hypertension, but the differences in their blood pressures are greater than in the identical twins. This simple listing of blood pressures on five sets of twins in four paragraphs, devoid of essential data on the patients themselves, is said to be "alone sufficient to establish the hereditary nature of essential hypertension beyond reasonable doubt."

The second part of Platt's paper involves plotting the distributions of blood pressures of sibs* of severe hypertensives. The curves obtained have "bumps" at the upper ranges of pressure because only one to four subjects fall in these upper ranges. The dips in the curve between one patient here and two patients there are taken as proof of a trimodal mode of inheritance! Even Dr. Platt has had to back down from this position in recent years.

The startling fact about this flimsy paper and the extreme conclusions that were drawn from it is not that it was published in the most distinguished British medical journal, Lancet, but that it is still being quoted in the most respected medical literature. For instance, Edward Freis, chief investigator of the Veterans Administration studies, cites Platt as sole proof of the hereditary nature of the disease in the recent American Journal of Medicine Symposium on Hyperten-

*See Appendix

Method	Systolic	Diastolic
A. In the families of propositi with essential hypertension		
1. Between samples		
a) **Relatives of hypertensive propositi** **Propositi**	0.240	0.238
b) **Relatives hypertensive propositi—relatives control propositi** Hypertensive propositi—control propositi	0.198	0.174
2. Within the sample (hypertensive propositi and their relatives)		
a) Propositi arranged by score		
propositi to ∕80		0.161
∕95		0.115
all propositi		0.061
b). Propositi arranged by age	0.21-.040	0.20-0.26
3. Between sibs, propositi omitted		
Sobye's series	0.213	0.232
Hamilton's series	0.268	0.199

Reproduced with permission from **Clinical Science** 13, 273, 1954.4

Table 3. Coefficients of Resemblance between First Degree Relatives Using Age and Sex Adjusted Scores for Arterial Pressure Pickering

Doctors (pictured above) organized against racist medical care in the South Bronx.

Through forums (such as the one below) and mass action, a movement to combat racist medical practices can grow.

sion.**15** Platt is cited many times in the 26th Hahnemann Symposium on Hypertension.**18**

The bulk of studies attempting to separate environmental and hereditary influences estimate that heredity is about 20% responsible for the similarities of blood pressure between first degree relatives. This figure is based upon studies of the blood pressure of relatives of hypertensives in large population groups, carried out by Hamilton and Pickering (Table 3)**19.20,** Miall and Oldham**21**, Johnson**22**, and others. In other words, for every 10 mm Hg a patient with essential hypertension deviates from the norm, a first degree relative will probably deviate 2 mm Hg. However, as Morton Schweitzer**23** points out in a careful analysis of family studies, all that can be said from this data is that there is a 20% influence of family on blood pressure, which could just as easily be an environmental influence as a hereditary influence. Consider that tuberculosis and lead poisoning also run in families, certainly not because they are inherited. It should be noted in this regard that respondents among relatives of hypertensives in large studies were most likely to live near to the subject, and a follow-up by Schweitzer of nonrespondents who lived at a distance found one-half the predicted occurrence of hypertension. In order to evaluate hereditability, one must hold environmental factors constant, negate environmental factors by complete variance in large enough populations, or be able to quantitate environmental influences, none of which was done in these family studies.

Even if one were to assume that familial aggregations of hypertension within a group were hereditary, it would still have to be proved that differences between population groups were hereditary. For example, the difference in height between two present day Americans is primarily genetic. Likewise, the difference in height between two Americans in 1750 was primarily genetic, but the average height of white Americans has changed by over a foot in the last several hundred years, which is obviously environmental. Thus if even among whites or blacks blood pressure were highly hereditable, it would not be possible to conclude that differences between blacks and whites were genetic.

If genes predisposing to hypertension played a major role in determining blood pressure in blacks, it would be expected that blacks of similar genetic background would all have a similar prevalence of hypertension. American blacks can trace their ancestry to western and southern Africa. An extensive survey of blood pressure was carried out in west Africa from 1963-7. O.O. Akinkugbe**24** examined 3602 rural and 2007 urban Nigerians and found that a pressure greater than 140/90 occurred in 9.1% of men as compared to 41.6% of black men in the U.S. There were no pressures greater than 170/105 in men below the age of forty and a 1% incidence of blood pressure greater than 170/105 in men from age 40-44. Compared to the black population in Charleston**25**, which has a blood group distribution and skin pigmentation similar to the west African population, the mean systolic and diastolic pressures are consistently lower in the west Africans by about 5 mm Hg diastolic and 10 mm Hg systolic at all ages. A study of blood pressure in 1053 rural and urban South African Zulus**26** found that the mean blood pressures of rural residents was below the U.S. mean, and the urban mean was higher, but both were below the mean pressure of American blacks. Another survey of 641 rural west Africans over 20 years old**27** also found blood pressure levels similar to American whites, not blacks.

Studies in East Africa**28** have generally shown lower blood pressures than in American blacks, but there is probably little genetic similarity between these groups. The only groups of blacks with blood pressures comparable to American blacks live in the Caribbean**29,30** (Table 4). However, the environmental influences (racism and economic oppression) which we contend are responsible for high blood pressure in American blacks also exist in the West Indies. The conclusion from this data is that genetic factors cannot explain the increased prevalence of hypertension among black Americans.

DIET, BODY BUILD, AND ACTIVITY

Other factors that have been proposed as causes of hypertension are high salt intake, body build, and high physical activity. That salt restriction can lower blood pressure in many hypertensives has led many to postulate that persons or groups with a high salt intake tend to become hypertensive, and that limiting salt instake may prevent hypertension. The main experimental evidence in favor of this theory comes from rats**31** in which a strain sensitive to salt intake has been bred. The main human epidemiological evidence for the relation of diet and blood pressure is a crude linear relation drawn between average salt intake and prevalence of hypertension in Japanese, Eskimos, Bantus, and North Americans (Fig. 6)**32**. However, these data do not take into account age of the population, the existence of distinct subgroups (such as blacks and whites in America), method of measurement, or variations in diet. There are also studies which show similar blood pressures in populations with very different salt intakes.**29,30**

The overwhelming bulk of data attempting to relate actual salt intake and blood pressure in otherwise similar individuals has not shown any correlation. Miall, in a study of Welsh miners, found no correlation of salt intake and blood pressure among males and an inverse relation among females. In the Framingham study (Table 5), Cawber**34** estimated the salt intakes and measured the sodium excretion of hundreds of subjects and found no relation to blood pressure. Comparisons of sodium excretion in hospitalized hypertensive and normotensive patients also failed to show any correlation.**35**

Nonetheless, it is often said that hypertension in blacks results from their diet high in salt pork. Attempts to locate any studies which even measure pork intake or salt intake in blacks, compare it with the "average" white diet, or quantitate salt intake and blood pressure variance between races have been fruitless. This allega-

Slope	Level a	Level b	Level c
0	Caracas Indians (Loewenstein) Thailand (ICNND) Ethiopia (ICNND) Bushmen-Africa (Kaminer) Uganda nomads (Shaper)	Vietnam (ICNND) India-rural (Padmavati) India-urban workers (Padmavati) Africa (Donnison) Uganda semi-nomads (Shaper)	New Guinea Coast & Highlands (Whyte) Gilbertese (Maddocks) Africans (Williams)
1	Ceylonese (Bibile)	Colombia (ICNND) Fiji (Maddocks) India-high socio-economic group (Padmavati) W. Africa (Abrahams)	Rural Zulu (Scotch)
2	Mundurucus Indians (Loewenstein) Javanese (Bailey) Formosa (Liu)-Mainlanders Liberia (Moser)	Bahamas-white (Johnson) Fiji (Lovell)	St. Kitts-Negro (Schneckloth)
3	Atiu-Mitiaro (Hunter) Formosa (Liu)-Taiwanese India (Wilson)	Tecumseh, Michigan (Johnson) Jamaica-rural (Miall) Jamaica-urban (Miall) Rarotongans (Hunter) Japan-Nagasaki (ABCC) Japan-Hiroshima (Switzer)	
4	Georgia-white (Comstock) Chile (ICNND) Indians-Fiji (Lovell) Atlas Jews (Dreyfuss) Urban Zulu (Scotch) Uganda Villagers (Shaper) London (Pickering) Wales (Miall) Bergen 2 (Boe)	Georgia-Negro (Comstock) Bahamas-Negro (Johnson) Bergen 1 (Boe)	Georgia-Negro (McDonough)

Table 4. Systolic Blood Pressure Classification by Geographic Area in Males
Levels refer to degree of Elevation of Blood Pressure;
Slopes refer to Rate of Blood Pressure Increase with Age28

tion is made in a not infrequently referenced editorial in the Archives of Internal Medicine**36** which states that blacks eat too much pork, which causes hypertension and a variety of other maladies, for which statement no data and no references are given.

Because of the consistently higher prevalence of hypertension among lower socioeconomic groups, it has also been postulated that high levels of physical activity, i.e. among laborers, cause hypertension. However, the recent literature is in agreement that this hypothesis has been disproved. Surveys of Chicago workers**37**, Evans County, Georgia residents**38**, urban and rural Puerto Ricans**10**, residents of Framingham**39**, and Gas Company workers**40** have all found no correlation of physical activity with blood pressure. In fact, since physically active people tend to be leaner, they may be less predisposed to hypertension.

Table 5a.—Per Cent of Subjects According to Salt Intake by Systolic Blood Pressure Quartiles: Men 37-49, Framingham Diet Study

Systolic Blood Pressure	Number	Per Cent Low	Medium	High
80-116	68	0	67.6	32.4
118-128	60	1.7	68.3	30.0
130-140	50	0	66.0	34.0
142-195	39	10.3	64.1	25.6

Table 5b.—Per Cent of Subjects According to Salt Intake by Systolic Blood Pressure Quartiles: Men 50-69, Framingham Diet Study

Systolic Blood Pressure	Number	Per Cent Low	Medium	High
80-116	49	2.0	57.1	40.8
118-128	48	2.1	72.9	25.0
130-140	56	1.8	60.7	37.5
142-195	67	1.5	53.7	44.8

Table 5c.—Per Cent of Subjects According to Salt Intake by Systolic Blood Pressure Quartiles: Women 37-49, Framingham Diet Study

Systolic Blood Pressure	Number	Per Cent Low	Medium	High
90-115	85	3.5	83.5	12.9
116-128	68	2.9	85.3	11.8
130-144	56	3.6	82.1	14.3
145-210	30	6.7	83.3	10.0

Table 5d.—Per Cent of Subjects According to Salt Intake by Systolic Blood Pressure Quartiles: Women 50-69, Framingham Diet Study

Systolic Blood Pressure	Number	Per Cent Low	Medium	High
90-115	33	9.1	90.9	0
116-128	51	3.9	72.5	23.5
130-144	68	7.4	85.3	7.4
145-210	84	11.9	78.6	9.5

Table 5. Sodium Intake and Excretion and Blood Pressure The Framingham Study39

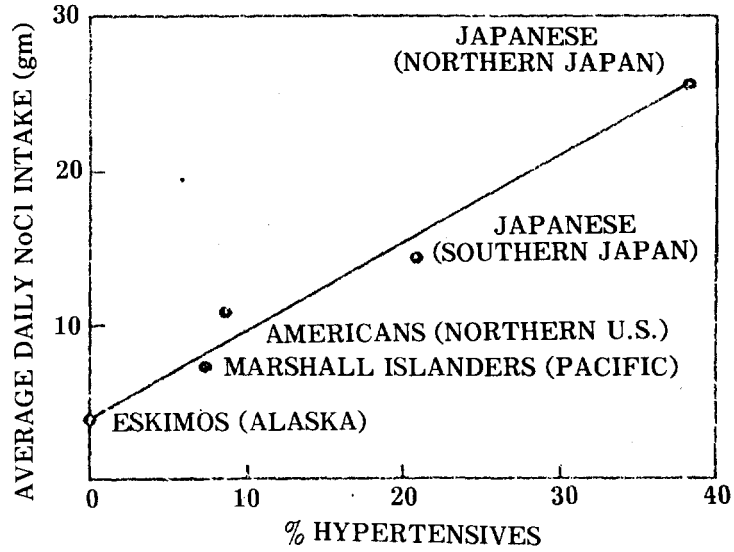


Figure 6. Correlation of Average Daily Salt (NACl) Intakes with Prevalence of Hypertension in Different Geographic Areas and Among Different Races32

There is overwhelming evidence that obesity is associated with a rise in blood pressure. However, differences in body build and weight cannot account for differences in blood pressure between groups of people. In fact, there is a marked excess of body fat in young white males over young black males, in precisely the same age group in which black men are much more frequently hypertensive than white men (Fig. 7)**41**.

STRESS AND ECONOMICS

There is a good deal of confusion and interchangeability in the literature between the concepts of individual psychological stress and low socioeconomic status as correlates of high blood pressure. In general, it is much more accepted that immediate psychological tensions are reflected in a rise in blood pressure than that broader social conditions are important. It is easy to do measurements of blood pressure during brief controlled periods of stress. It has been shown that the blood pressure rises in subjects undergoing personal interviews**42**, feeling anxious, hostile, or depressed**43**, doing picayune mental tasks**44**, or after battle. It has also been shown that within a relatively homogeneous group of individuals, certain personality types, namely resentful, hostile, suppressed people, are more likely to be hypertensive.**46**

Most animal studies deal with individual stress, but they also demonstrate that repeated rises in blood pressure can culminate in sustained hypertension. In a well-known Harvard experiment, rhesus monkeys required to press levers at regular intervals in order to avoid shock developed sustained blood pressures averaging 160/100 after seven months, compared with a baseline of 130/80.**47** A similar study in squirrel monkeys gave nearly identical results.**48** There are no references in the literature to studies in animals which do not find a correlation between stress and blood pressure.

We have seen that among possible environmental influences geography, diet, activity, and body build do not correlate with blood pressure. The National Health Survey of 1962 showed that the prevalence of hypertension among both black and white males, standardized for age, does correlate with both education and occupational status. In 1963, Howard and Holman published the mortality statistics due to hypertension in the National Health Survey correlated with occupation and socioeconomic class (Fig. 8).**49** Among both nonwhites (the term used in the study, which includes at least 90% blacks) and whites there was a regular increase in the mortality secondary to hypertension proceeding down the economic ladder from professionals and managers to laborers. In all categories, nonwhites were more severely affected than whites, and the differences were much greater among the younger and less skilled workers. The nonwhite to white mortality ratio in 25-34 year old laborers was 8.20, compared to 3.92 for young professionals and managers and 3.83 for 55-64 year old laborers.

These results show that for both whites and nonwhites, a rise in socioeconomic status decreases the prevalence of hypertension. We have already shown, in our references to the studies on Africa, that blackness alone cannot explain the differences in blood pressure between blacks and whites. A second possible formulation of the genetic argument (suggested by Howard and Holman) is that the fewer white genes a person has, the less able he is to cope with the environment, thus accounting for both lower status and more hypertension in the nonwhite population. If the explanation that blacks are less able and less adaptable is rejected, the alternative is that blackness makes it harder to get a good job, to rise on the scale, and that in any position, racism leads to added stress.

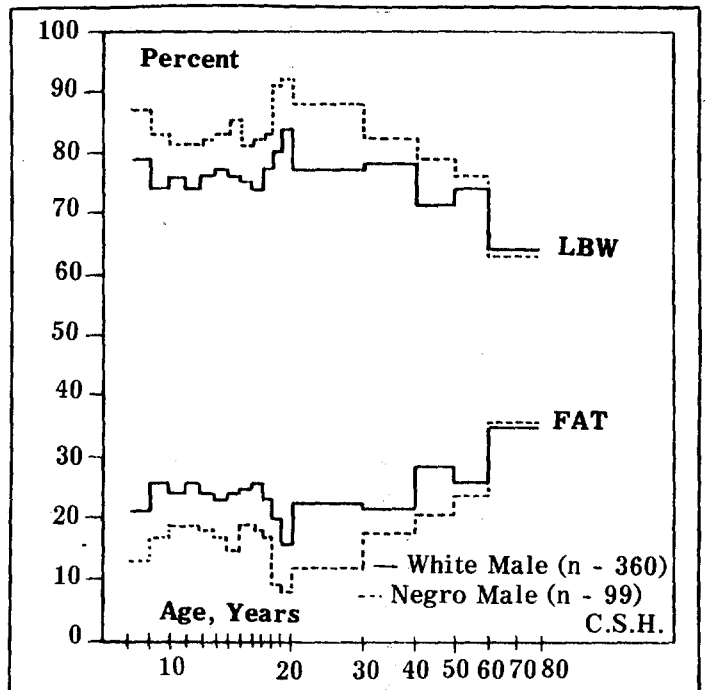


Figure 7. Per Cent Fat and Lean Body Weight (LBW) in White and Negro Men41

To counteract the argument that there is no racism but that blacks' blood pressure rises more with stress than whites', it would be necessary to eliminate racism from the society and see what happens (a proposal with more than scientific merit). However, we will go on to show that socioeconomic stresses significantly increase the blood pressure in whites as well as blacks.

Karl and Cobb**50** followed that blood pressure changes in 35-60 year old married men with stable blue collar jobs who were about to be laid off because of plant shut down. Nearly all of these men were white. Examinations were conducted during the period of anticipation of job loss, during unemployment, and after stabilization in a new job. A control study was done on similarly employed men in a nearby factory whose jobs were not threatened. Throughout the study period, the controls showed no significant variation in blood pressure. 70-80% of the subjects showed statistically significant increases in systolic (2.34 mm Hg) and diastolic (3.40 mm Hg) pressures while anticipating job loss, further increases during unemployment, and decreases of

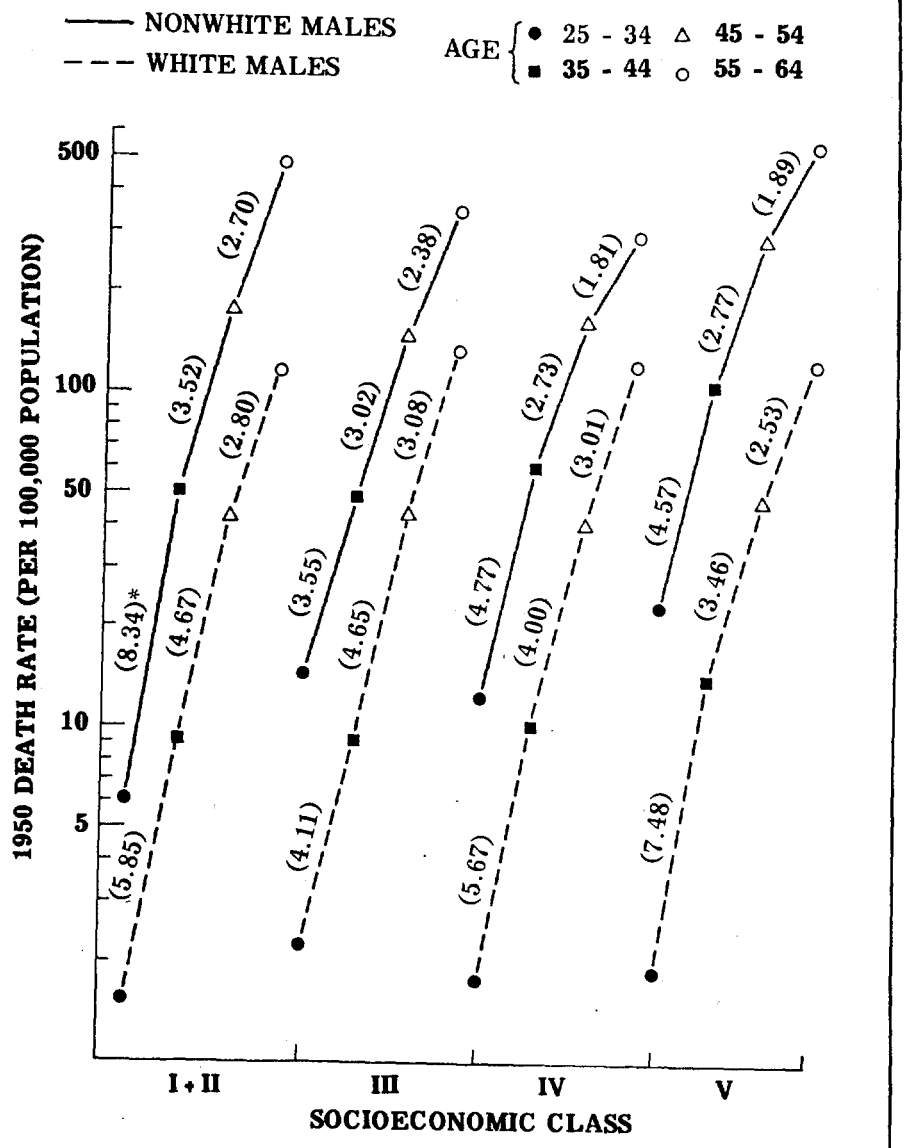


Figure 8. Hypertension Mortality By Age, Race, and Socioeconomic Status. I - II: Professionals, Technical, and Managerial Levels, III: Clerical, Sales, and Skilled Workers, IV: Semiskilled Workers, V: Laborers. *Proportionate Increase in Mortality over Age Span49

6.97 mm Hg systolic and 4.22 mm Hg diastolic after obtaining new jobs (Table 6). It was also found that the "degree of irritation" and loss of self esteem varied directly with the degree of elevation of blood pressure during the stressful period.

A slightly different comparison of men who were similar except for the stress levels of their jobs was done between air traffic controllers and second class airmen, again mostly white. The[51] former group, considered to have an extremely stressful job, had four times the prevalence of hypertension as the latter, which could not be accounted for by differences in associated diseases or licensing practices. The letter carriers' union claims that since the U.S. Post Office became a private corporation, 10% of the work force has been eliminated and the remainder sped up. There was a remarkable increase in fatal heart attacks (75%) in the next year, which probably reflects an increase in hypertension.

In a study of 260,000 white Bell Telephone employees conducted by Lawrench Hinkel[52], it was found that the prevalence of atherosclerotic heart disease and hypertension was 30% less among white collar workers than blue collar workers. There was no increased prevalence among managers. Among blue collar workers, those with the best chance for advancement (i.e. those with the best education) had the least disease. Thus there is ample evidence that socioeconomic stress if the major influence on blood pressure

in all groups independent of race.

The relationship between stress and socioeconomic status is evident. The problems of being poor are no more than the stresses of inadequate food, clothing, housing, medical care, educational opportunities, job security, and little chance of advancement. Among people of similar socioeconomic status studies have shown it is those who feel the most oppressed who have the highest prevalence of hypertension.

Stamler conducted a survey of 175 low income black men aged 30-49 all of whom lived in a Chicago slum**53**. He found a significant difference in the blood pressure between those who were satisfied with their housing, neighbors, and job and those who were not. Men who wished to move but did not think it possible had a prevalence of hypertension of 32.1% as opposed to 23.5% in men who wished to stay put. Men who had a negative view of their neighbors had a prevalence of 35.9% versus 23.0%; those with four or more bank debts instead of three or less had a ratio of 48.0:25.2.

A study of mortality data in North Carolina for the years 1956-64**54** showed a strong correlation between the mortality from strokes (nearly always secondary to hypertension) and causes of "social disorganization": per cent families with only one parent, per cent illegitimate births, per cent of males in prison, per cent of separation and divorce, and per cent of children under 18 without two parents. This correlation was strong in all counties, among either whites or blacks, and especially in lower age groups. From ages 35-44, the stroke death rates were 2.9 times higher in the counties with the greatest indices of social stress than in those counties with the lowest indices of stress. No correlation was found between stroke mortality and geography, income per se, and availability of medical care.

It is interesting to note that there is no objective evidence to uphold the old notion that executives are more prone to hypertension than their underlings. In fact, the opposite seems to be the case, as seen in studies by Hinkel**52** and Lee and Schneider**55**. As Hinkel points out, executives tend to have more physical examinations than other members of society. Since no one was aware of the high incidence of hypertension until several years ago, it probably appeared that this well-studied group was particularly affected by the disease, when in fact their rate is a little lower than average.

In summary, we have shown that the differences in blood pressure between whites and blacks and rich and poor cannot be accounted for by such simple mechanisms as inheritance, diet, weight, or physical activity. Although heredity may have some influence on the blood pressure of individuals, genetics cannot explain the differences in prevalence of hypertension between groups. There is overwhelming evidence that stress, both in terms of isolated episodes and of long term frustration and oppression is a major factor in determining the level of a person's blood pressure. (To draw this conclusion we need not show a perfect 1:1 correlation between causative factor and disease—such a relation rarely exists in medicine—but only a frequent association with evidence of causality.) Socioeconomic differences are the only environmental factors that consistently correlate with the disparities in hypertension prevalence in our society.

STRESS AND RACISM

Socioeconomic stress stems from the inability to satisfy basic human needs and live up to the goals of the society. To be poor or even "lower middle class" in the U.S. today means to have daily difficulty acquiring food, shelter, clothing and essential services. For employed workers, real wages, in the sense of buying power, are

	Na Excretion (Converted to Gm. NaCl)			
	—8 Gm.	8-10.4 Gm.	10.5-12.9 Gm.	—13 Gm.
No. of Persons	41	55	45	44
Age	44	44	44	45
FRW	101	107	107	112
B P	131/85	139/89	137/87	139/88
Persons with HBP	8(20%)	13(24%)	12(27%)	16(36%)
mean	115/100	165/104	163/99	153/98

Table 6. Twenty-four Hour Urine Sodium Excretion Compared to Blood Pressure, Exam V, 185 Men, Framingham Heart Study

Difference between means for early visits (anticipation of job loss and unemployment or probationary re-employment) and means for later visits (stabilization on new job)		Significance of change	Percent of men showing some drop	Correlation means for early visits with means for later visits
Diastolic blood pressure	Mean drop - 3.06 mm Hg	.0001	80%	.82
Systolic blood pressure	Mean drop - 5.32 mm Hg	.0001	80%	.87
Pulse rate	Mean drop - 2.71 beats/min	.01	67%	.55

Table 6. Major Changes in Blood Pressure and Pulse Rate in Men Anticipating Job Loss and After Re-employment50

steadily declining and job security is decreasing. Food prices have risen 10.2% in the last six months; the number of jobs has decreased by tens of thousands and unemployment is expected to rise to 10%. For the unemployed, life is reduced to surviving on welfare allotments of $84 per person a month for all expenses save rent and living in slum housing. In addition to physical hardship, people who are poor, black, or unemployed are subject to the degradation of being regarded as parasites and inferior beings. In addition to outright racial discrimination, the media, textbooks, and the politicians bombard us with the idea that society's problems are caused by the poor and minority groups, rather than visited most harshly upon them. We are told that crime exists because of idleness and addiction in the ghetto rather than because of poverty. We are told that taxes are high because welfare clients refuse to work, that schools are poor because deprived children are unable to learn, that city services are inadequate because workers are unproductive, and that health care is bad because the poor don't care for or about themselves. Recently, a campaign to prosecute thousands of welfare clients has been undertaken on a local and national level, on the grounds that many recipients are not unable to work or find jobs but are indolent parasites who are defrauding the rest of us. Concretely, in the United States today, the poorest and the most frequently unemployed are black, and Latin, and racism is used to justify these ideas of "blame the victim." (For a fuller discussion see William Ryan's bood **Blaming the Victim56**.)

As economic conditions become worse in the society at large, we can see an upsurge in deliberate propaganda to blame oppression on the oppressed. In the academic community, theories of the genetic inferiority of blacks, similar to Nazi theories about the Jews, have been widely propagated during the last several years. Arthur Jensen **57**, in the Harvard Educational Review, claims to have proven that blacks are less intelligent than whites, based on IQ scores. Richard Herrnstein, professor of psychology at Harvard, wrote in the Atlantic Monthly **58**, that, increasingly "unemployment runs in the genes, like bad teeth"; Nobel prize winning physicist William Shockley **59** says that "people are color coded for intelligence"; and presidential advisor and University of Pennsylvania professor Edward Banfield has suggested that blacks be confined to supervised housing projects. **60** In education, the Coleman Report **61** and the works of Christopher Jencks **62** are used to cut educational allotments, on the grounds that the children in the schools are the problem with learning, not the schools themselves.

In short, the poor, especially the black poor, face monstrous material and ideological oppression in the U.S. today. Living conditions are deteriorating, discrimination in hiring, housing, and services continues, and a new drive to label minority groups as dumb, destructive, and destined for deprivation is being carried out.

BLAMING THE HYPERTENSION VICTIM

In the field of hypertension we see a similar trend to look for the cause of the disease within the victim rather than in his environment. Despite the bulk of evidence relating stress and socio-economic status to hypertension, there is a great tendency to ignore these factors. Both the 1973 hypertension symposium in the American Journal of Medicine and the 26th Hahnemann symposium repeatedly state that hypertension is known to be hereditary, statements based either on flimsy articles like that of Platt or on misinterpretations of surveys such as the National Health Survey. At a recent symposium by Laragh's group at Harlem Hospital, it was stated that hypertension is common in blacks because of a hereditary predisposition and a high salt diet; at a 1973 Health Research Council session at Rockefeller University a main speaker denied that there is any significant difference between blacks and whites with regard to hypertension.

To the extent that it is acknowledged that hypertension is a mass problem, and more so in poor communities, the emphasis is often on patient education and compliance rather than treatment. For example, the New York Heart Association has set up a new task force to study how to educate New Yorkers about the problem. The Health Services Administration has launched a publicity campaign as well. These efforts are commendable but to little avail unless treatment is provided. In this regard, the emphasis in the literature is often on "patient compliance," the problem of convincing a patient with a serious but a symptomatic disease to "accept" therapy. The real problem11 is not the problem patient but how to design methods of preventive health care delivery. The concept we are taught in professional schools and see in practice in public clinics is that it is up to the patient to find his own way to medical care. This usually involves a journey through a morass of bureaucracy, inefficiency, and maltreatment.

With regards to hypertension, it has been shown that clinics which operate on the job or at convenient hours and give quick, humane and inexpensive care have little problem with compliance. Attendance rates approach 90% at Frank Finnerty's clinic in South East Washington DC63, at Gimbel's employee clinic, or at Harlem Hospital12. The common denominators of these programs are appointment systems, rapid follow up, consistent health-worker/patient relationships, brief waiting times, little or no cost to the patients, and convenient hours.

RACISM, HYPERTENSION, AND THE HEALTH CARE SYSTEM

Hypertension is a racist disease. Racism in the United States today is largely responsible for

the increased stress experienced by black people. It is this increased stress which is largely responsible for the increased prevalence of hypertension among blacks. Racism is also an important reason that blacks are less likely than whites to receive adequate therapy. A secondary result of racism is that all people are hurt by it. To the extent that disease is common and medical care inadequate for a large segment of the population, standards for everyone are dragged down. The fact that hypertension, especially in terms of publicly funded treatment, is seen as largely a black problem slows up the development of treatment programs, and white patients are also affected.

It is not our contention that most health workers are racist or that researchers consciously distort the truth about the etiology of hypertension. In fact, many researchers and clinicians who do not recognize a social or racist basis to this disease, are actively involved in treatment programs in poor and minority communities. Rather, there is in the literature and at medical meetings, an overwhelming tendency to minimize, if not deny, factors of socioeconomic status. Most of our ideas are learned from these sources and accepted with little question. It is our contention that there are reasons, from the point of view of the government and business, to promote social theories and disease and that we must continually examine these theories and oppose them when appropriate.

To acknowledge that social conditions exacerbate disease, especially an endemic and easily treatable entity like hypertension, implies that social conditions should be changed. Although it is true that millions are spent on hypertension research, the cost of improving schools, housing, and jobs is much more vast and not bearable by American capitalism. Even if we deal with treatment rather than prevention, we are speaking of life-long medication and doctor visits for thirty million people. Although the cost per patient may be only $100 per year in a well run clinic, and most untreated hypertensives will eventually be hospitalized, hypertension treatment is not cost effective. Firstly, hypertension is not incapacitating or even limiting for an average of twenty years—the white patient is a healthy worker until he is at or near retirement age. Once old or retired, a worker becomes a liability to the capitalists*, supported by pensions, social security, or welfare and increasingly in need of medical care, often at public expense. Since many hypertensives die quickly from heart attacks or strokes and many survivors live relatively short lives, it is not necessarily efficient to eliminate the disease in terms of hospital costs. With regard to blacks, who die much younger and in greater numbers, the loss of a relatively large number of unskilled workers is not to be mourned by the capitalists.

Hypertension is not the only chronic disease which is neither prevented or well treated, and treatment of one chronic disease would be a stimulent to those demanding treatment of many others. Millions suffer with asthma, diabetes, and arthritis to name a few, and they too need better preventive and chronic care. Our health care system is geared only towards treatment of the acute illness, and already the government is declaring a doctor surplus and major research and clinical cutbacks. The government has no plans for major ventures into preventive and chronic medicine. (For a further analysis of medicine under capitalism, see the PL pamphlet "Racism Ruins Medicine.")

WHAT IS BEING DONE?

Several studies of large populations in the U.S. have shown that only about one half of hypertensives are aware of their diagnosis and only 15-20% are adequately treated (Table 7). In Baldwin, Georgia in 1968, 47.5% of white male and 60.7% of non-white male hypertensives did not know of their disease, and only 17.8% of the former and 8.5% of the latter were treated.**64**

In New York City, it is estimated that there are one million hypertensives and 10,000 deaths per year directly attributable to this disease16. In order to locate these patients the Health Services Administration (HSA) has screened almost 400,000 people in its clinics and the high schools, but has not provided follow-up care or found out if patients received it on their own**65**. Recently, one treatment center has been established at Fort Green in Brooklyn. Meanwhile the city hospitals run hypertension clinics with small patient loads made up nearly entirely of severe secondary hypertensives. None of these clinics is open evenings or weekends. The bulk of mild hypertensives who are seen at all attend general medical clinics, where the problems of long waits, rotating physicians, and expense are usually rapidly discouraging to the patient. The single comprehensive screening and treatment program in a New York City hospital is at Harlem Hospital, but funding from the Regional Medical Program is about to be discontinued. Nonetheless, the HSA has no plans to open more treatment centers in the near future, and the Health and Hospitals Corporation has shown no interest in the problem.

On a national level, Theodore Cooper, head of the National Institutes of Health, has stated repeatedly that the Federal government does not intend to become involved in direct patient care. It is a gross distortion of ordinary policy of the government to take such a stand as a "general principle," for the state has for many years contributed directly to patient care. For example, there are city, state, and federal hospitals, direct financing of hospital construction, Medicare, federally funded renal dialysis programs and so on. What Dr. Cooper is really saying is that the government doesn't intend to become involved in treating hypertension per se, except in the context of studies and pilot projects.

Many professional organizations have acknowledged the severity of the problem, but none have demanded mass programs with government financing. The AMA has put all its emphasis on physician education, which is needed, but which will affect only that portion of the population with ready access to private physicians. The Heart Association has stated that they recognize hyper-

*See Appendix

Estimated Reservoir of Undetected and Untreated Individuals With Elevated Blood Pressure

Characteristics of Populations Surveyed	Baldwin Co. Georgia 1962 N - 3084	National Health Survey 1960-1962 N - 6672	Alameda Co. Calif. 1966 N - 2495
% c elev. BP - 160 sys. - 95 dia.	17.5%	15.2%	13.0%
% pop. on med. for hyp.	6.0%	6.5%	5.9%
% c elev. BP on med. for hyp.	18.3%	23.2%	16.9%**
Total hyp. pop.*	630	1214	420**
% unknown	(41.0%)	(42.8%)	-
% of total hyp. pop. on med.	29.7%	35.7%	35.7%**
% of total hyp. "under control"	14.0%	16.3%	22.6%**
% of those on med. "under control"	47.0%	45.6%	63.3%**

*Total hyp. pop. - those with BP — 160 systolic, and/or 95 diastolic at time of survey plus those on medication for hypertension with survey pressures below those levels.

**In determining proportion on medication, etc., systolic level of 165 instead of 160 was used.

Table 7. American Heart Association

tension as the number one health priority in the nation, but their action has been limited to physician and community education programs[66].

It is also significant to compare the treatment of hypertension with that of other diseases. Millions are spent on developing treatment for cardiogenic shock, whose victims average six years older than the average life expectancy of blacks. Cancer, another disease of the elderly and one which kills only one third to one fourth the number who die from hypertension and arteriosclerosis is the top national priority. Prevention of heart attacks, the major killer of white as opposed to black victims of hypertension, is the second main focus of medical research. The emphasis is consistently on disease which affect the elderly and the white, as opposed to hypertension which kills blacks in their 30'a and 40's. We believe that this reflects the interests of the capitalist class in protecting itself from the diseases to which it is most susceptible.

Overall, despite the increased awareness of the effects of hypertension and the attention paid to it in the media and by the medical profession, relatively little is being done to treat the millions who are affected and virtually nothing to prevent the disease. Although there are problems of methodology of delivery and of the best medical approach, enough is known so that most patients would benefit if treated with current methods. The barrier is not in patients' disinterest when education and convenience are present. The main barrier is cold hard cash—a monumental investment in preventive medicine, which the government (the only possible source of such sums) is presently unwilling to undertake.

WHAT CAN BE DONE

We in the Progressive Labor Party do not believe that excellent health care can ever be won under capitalism, because it is not a profitable enterprise. However, many reforms can be and have been won. In fact, most improvements in health care have come about becuase health workers and patients have fought for them. For example, unions were the main impetus behind many group clinics, sick time, and health insurance for millions of workers. Community pressure has won screening programs for sickle cell anemia and lead poisoning. Physicians have organized for a new emergency room at Morrisania Hospital in the Bronx, improved staffing at Los Angeles County Hospital, and dialysis and better staffing at Bellevue Hospital. Similarly, it will require a coalition of professional and non-professional

health workers and the community to fight for hypertension treatment. In New York City, such a professional committee has already been established.

The New York Hypertension Coalition is composed of attending faculty, interns and residents, medical students, nurses, and community health workers. To date, we have initiated screening programs at specific institutions, publicized the local situation on the radio, put forward our position at medical societies, and we are now sponsoring public health legislation in New York City. Specifically, screening of employees for hypertension has been undertaken at St. Vincent's Hospital and of local residents at Bellevue. At Montefiore Hospital, the union has been approached to sponsor a hypertension screening and the treatment program at Einstein Medical School, a course on the medical and social aspects of hypertension, is being offered. Our position was presented at the AMA and NMA conventions in New York. At the AHA meeting in November, 1973 a resolution supporting federal funding of universal treatment programs and citing racial discrimination as a factor in the lack of treatment was presented, and a shorter version was passed in the program committee.* Currently, we are introducing a law requiring that the blood pressure be taken at all hospital and clinic visits, at employment and school physicals, that regular city-wide screenings occur, and that both educational materials and acceptable treatment be made available to all hypertensives. With this focus we hope to build a larger movement in New York and encourage like efforts in other cities.

*See Appendix

Members of PL also believe that it is necessary to raise the question of racism in a forthright manner. Racism subtly influences the way in which even humanitarian and liberal people view the causes of hypertension and its neglect. Racism decreases the urgency with which organizations and institutions take action to implement solutions. Unless racism is overcome we will not be able to understand or prevent this disease effectively. We will not get beyond supplying adequate quantities of pills to the bettering of living and working conditions which is necessary to eradicate hypertension.

Given the interest of the people as a whole and of many health providers, it should be possible to win a nationwide federally funded screening and treatment program. What is needed to carry this through is organization—leadership, literature, publicity, and a program of action—and a coalition between blacks and whites, professionals, hospital workers and the community at large.

Specifically, we suggest:

- *Investigate screening and treatment for fellow employees, in your community, and at your local hospital.*
- *Fight for good screening and treatment programs in alliance with unions, community organizations, and professional societies.*
- *Raise resolutions at professional meetings for action to expand treatment programs.*
- *Introduce local legislation mandating hypertension screening and treatment, to be supported by the government.*
- *Expose the racist nature of hypertension in articles, courses, and through the media.*

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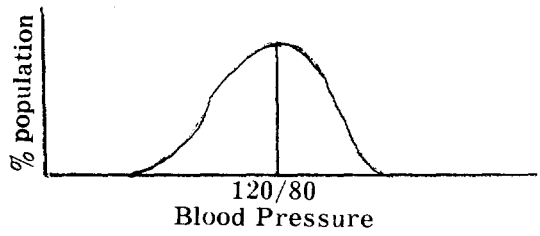
APPENDIX — GLOSSARY

Bell-shaped and Unimodal Curves:
A bell curve describes the normal distribution of a trait within a population, when it is equally likely that an individual will fall above or below an average value.



The horizontal axis represents the amount of the trait (i.e. the level of blood pressure), and the vertical axis represents the number of people at each level. Unimodal describes any distribution in which there is one peak. For example, the incidence of diabetes has two peaks, one in the young and one in middle age and thus has a bimodal distribution. The incidence of lung cancer has only one peak, in the 60's, and so is unimodal.

Capitalist Class:
That small group of the population (less than 1%) who own the means of production.

Prospective Study:
The observation of a population to see who develops a trait or change in the future, as opposed to the review of a group who already has a trait to see how it developed (a retrospective study). The former eradicates much of the bias inherent in observing only those who had a trait severe enough to come to notice in the first place.

Sibling: brother or sister.

Simple Mendelian Trait:
Such a trait (anatomic or metabolic) is controlled by one gene pair (represented by two letters like Aa). Every individual has two genes for the trait, each of which may be either recessive (a) or dominant (A). One of each gene pair is inherited from each parent. If both genes of a pair are either recessive (aa) or dominant (AA), the individual is homozygous for that trait. If there is one recessive and one dominant gene (Aa), the individual is heterozygous. If dominance is strong enough, an individual who is Aa will appear the same as if he were AA.

If a and A are randomly distributed in the population, there should be 1/4 of the population with the recessive trait (aa), 1/4 of the population with the dominant trait (aA), and 1/2 with mixed genes who may appear the same as Aa individuals or in between those with AA and aa.

APPENDIX — AHA RESOLUTION

Assembly Panel IV

Recommendation I

Preamble:
There is now evidence that undetected and untreated hypertension represents an unsolved public health problem of major magnitude. There is already substantial evidence that treatment for millions of hypertensives would prevent cardiovascular morbidity and mortality on a large scale. At the present time no other such opportunity exists for widely effective prevention of disability and death from cardiovascular disease. To be effective, such a program must couple identification of hypertensives with readily available treatment. Only the federal government has the resources to provide such a universally available detection, referral and treatment effort. A precedent for such a government supported program has been set by the national renal dialysis program. The American Heart Association has a proud history of establishing guidelines for diagnosis and treatment of people with cardiovascular diseases. Such guidelines are needed in the area of detection, evaluation and treatment of hypertensive people.

Recommendations:
Therefore, it is recommended: to the Program Committee

(1) that the American Heart Association support the rapid development of universally available detection, referral, and treatment programs for hypertension,
(2) that the American Heart Association develop and disseminate guidelines for detection, evaluation and treatment programs in hypertension,
(3) that such guidelines be recommended for use in programs for hypertensive people,
(4) that the American Heart Association develop guidelines for the delivery of care for hypertensive people through the use of paramedical personnel such as nurse practitioners, and
(5) that since hypertension is a more urgent problem among the economically disadvantaged of this country, top priority should be given to AHA supported programs which deliver services to these people.

Destruction

The people are unhappy because of the falseness within themselves. By the time the little ones learn to talk they have caught on that those about them are often pretending. A small child, in order to learn, has no choice but to imitate; so it loses its naturalness, its spontaneity, its truth, its sweetness. It learns to pretend, to deceive. This is against its intuitive nature, and anxiety begins to creep in.

Very soon it learns that it lives in a status-minded society. It learns to sham, as the body grows, closing within itself more anxiety as the areas of competition broaden. Now, out in the big world, one must compete to exist, and the competition engenders hostility against the competitors. The hostility broadens, poisons the soul. All chance for true happiness is gone, for the birth-right is now forgotten, the right to be true, open, unafraid, the right to love all and be loved by all.

Any good psychologist will know that his patient may talk forever and it will do no good unless he can break through the learned attitudes and speak from the deep true natural self within. And each psychologist knows what a rush of love will come with this honesty, love for this person who has allowed him to be true for a matter of minutes—even though for a huge fee!

It is true that a few have managed to retain much of their truth and honesty, but they are not in control of the country's affairs.

How long before people become aware of the depths and causes of their unhappiness? How long before they realize that they, by accepting the false values, share in the crime against their children, the small ones who came innocent, wanting to love and to learn? How long before they cry for change? How long?

—Ancelle Easlic

Book Review

Another Racist Viewpoint Expressed by Liberals

AN ANALYSIS OF "BLACK PROGRESS AND LIBERAL RHETORIC"

by Ben J. Wattenberg and Richard Scammon

INTRODUCTION

The New Racism takes some interesting forms. In April, 1973, an article entitled "Black Progress and Liberal Rhetoric," by Ben J. Wattenberg and Richard Scammon, appeared in Commentary magazine. Albert "I'm-not-a-racist-I-was-at-Selma" Shanker gave the article a big play, summarizing it in his Sunday New York Times column, (April 15, 1973), and also having it reproduced in full as a supplement in the New York State United Teachers newspaper, "The New York Teacher." Previously, Scammon and Wattenberg wrote a book called "The Real Majority." Wattenberg has been a political aide to Johnson, Humphrey and Jackson. Scammon is a former director of the Census Bureau, under Kennedy and Johnson. He is now an independent elections consultant.

THE PURPORT OF "BLACK PROGRESS AND Liberal Rhetoric" is that blacks in the U.S. have been doing better economically in recent years, so much so that a majority of them are now "middle class." According to Scammon and Wattenberg, liberals are to be criticized for decrying the condition of blacks, when they should really be saying how good things are. Two conclusions can be drawn from their thesis. First, aid to blacks should continue as it has in the past because it has been successful. Second, aid to blacks can now be stopped because it has been successful, and they don't need any more help. Both conclusions assume that blacks are advancing and that the New Frontier-Great Society programs are responsible.

In analyzing Scammon and Wattenberg's work, much is found that is wrong. It is technically weak because sources are neither cited nor referenced. When one tracks down the sources, one finds that some data are quoted incorrectly, while other data is quoted out of context. The year which they chose to report on, 1971, has turned out to be a peculiar year: blacks have slipped back since then, although most observers would not agree with S&W that the level which blacks reached in 1971 was particularly good. Certain findings are reported which appear to indicate a sharp economic upturn for blacks, perhaps aided by Kennedy-Johnson social programs, when in fact they simply reflect the single most significant change in the black socioeconomic structure of the 60's: the substantial migration of Southern blacks living on Southern farms to Northern and Southern cities. Finally, in a coupld of places, S&W slip and openly reveal their rampant racism. It appears fair to conclude, then, that theirs is a racist thesis, written for racist purposes. As such, it must be exposed, just as is the work of Hensen, Herrnstein, Banfield and Jencks.

TECHNICAL ERRORS

THE PRIMARY ONE IS A LACK OF REFER-ences. Not only are not specific references given for individual quoted figures, but the reader is not even given the name of the source documents used. One can only infer that this was done consciously. Scammon is a former Census Bureau Director. Why should he not cite the document which he is quoting, particularly when it is one produced by the Census Bureau? It must be because he has something to hide, and indeed he does: the facts that some of his figures are misquoted, others are taken out of context, and still others, which contradict his conclusions, are not given. If the lay reader knew where to look, he/she might be able to discover the contradictions for him/herself. This writer is not a layman and knows where to look.

Internal evidence shows that the document which S&W cite, without naming it, is "The Social and Economic Status of the Black Population in the United States, 1971." It was published by the Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C., 1972, as part of **Current Population Reports.** It is Series P-23, No. 42, 1972.

One indicator of the relative economic relationship of whites and blacks is black median family income as a percentage of white median family income. S&W say that it climbed from 53% in 1961 to 63% in 1971. However, the figures which they cite, which are found in Table 16 of "Social and Economic Status, 1971" are for "Negro and other races." For "Negroes" alone, the figure for 1961 is shown as "not available" in the table and is actually 60% for 1971. A small difference, but it shows a fuzzy presentation, either intentional

or unintentional. Furthermore, S&W, in hailing this marvelous rise (sic), fail to point out that the figure actually dropped from its high of 61% for blacks in 1969 and 1970, to 60% in 1971.

S&W make a big deal of reporting the percentage of black families earning over $10,000 in 1971. (I don't know where they found these figures at the time they wrote their article, but they were subsequently published by the Census Bureau in "The Social and Economic Status of the Black Population in the United States, 1972," Current Population Reports Series P-23, No. 46, which was published in July, 1973.) It is 30%. They neglected to also report that for whites it is 54%. (Soc. and Econ. Status, 1972, Table 10.) They also reported that the 30% is "black families," whereas in reality it is for "Negro and other races." Since the average family income figures for blacks alone are lower than they are for "Negro and other races," this is another obvious misrepresentation of the facts.

IN DISCUSSING THE OCCUPATIONAL CATEgories of blacks, S&W point out that the number of "Negroes," (and again, the figures which they quote are for "Negro and other races"), in the category "white-collar workers, craftsmen, and operatives" has risen from 2.9 million in 1960 to 5.1 million in 1970 while the number of whites in the same category went from 46.1 million to 57.0 million. (These figures are to be found in Soc. & Econ. Status, 1971, Table 49.) They neglected to report the figures for 1971 which also are found in that table: 4.9 million and 56.5 million respectively.

It must be concluded then, that S&W report Census Bureau data incorrectly and selectively. Since they appear to be neither stupid nor ignorant, one must attribute ulterior motives to them.

ERRORS OF DEFINITION

S&W confuse "middle-income" and "middle class", apparently by intention. They define class solely in terms of income. First they define "middle-class" as "the condition of that vast majority of working-class Americans who, although often hard-pressed, have safely put poverty behind them and are now looking ahead, no longer back; it refers not only to engineers and teachers, but also to plasterers, painters, bus drivers, lathe operators, secretaries, bank tellers, and automobile assembly-line workers..." A bit earlier, however, they say that "middle-class" as used here does not refer to a condition of affluence, 'o a black population made up of doctors, lawyers, and businessmen with cabin cruisers..." Of course, most people do refer to the latter as the "middle-class" and the former as the "working-class," but that approach would not suit S&W's purpose. Two paragraphs later they substitute the term "middle-income" for the term "middle-class," without stating openly that they are doing that. However, they then go on to try to prove that a majority of blacks are in the "middle-income" group, which they equate with "middle-class."

First of all, "middle-income" is **not** "middle-class," in the usual sense of the term. Middle-class, even in the U.S., does not simply mean those people who are the middle of the income scale, even though the ruling class does try from time-to-time to extend the definition to cover that

DAILY NEWS, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1973
CENSORSHIP BY A MOB
Dr. William Shockley was heckled and hooted into silence on Tuesday night when he tried to expound his far-out views on heredity and intellectual capacity at Staten Island Community College.
Shockley's theories are anathema to most Americans. Genetics experts as a whole rate them as pure garbage, and Negroes find them particularly offensive. The SICC shout-down, however, was mainly the work of white yahoos.
It was an ugly exhibition of ignorant mobocracy in which the principle of free speech, not the muzzled speaker, was the real victim. And once such disgraceful actions begin, who can say where they will end?
The News Ferry
Free Speech for Shockley?
THE NEW YORK TIMES
S.I. College Blacks Plan To Boycott Shockley Talk
THE NEW YORK TIMES
The Shockley Case
By Tom Wicker
IN THE NATION
Four years ago black students at Dartmouth drowned out Dr. Shockley by clapping during his speech. Last month black law students at Harvard University forced the cancellation of a Shockley appearance under threat of disruptions.
The opposition is varied, but all of it regards Dr. Shockley as a racist. Joan Bodden, a student senator and Progressive Labor party member, thinks Dr. Birenbaum and the school also are racist and that Dr. Shockley's appearance at S.I.C.C. is part of a "national movement of racism in the universities," sponsored by "the ruling class." Helen Bracey, another student senator, invokes the Supreme Court's recent decision that "community standards" could govern what she called "moral standards."
"We the students are the local community," Miss Bracey said, asserting that they found the Shockley views on race "obscene and immoral."
Monday, November 19, 1973
Much of the debate regarding the President's invitation to William Shockley to speak on campus has centered around the doctrine of Free Speech. In the conviction that freedom
The Dolphin
Published by the students of Staten Island Community College November 19, 1973
Why Fight Racism
Joan Bodden, Progressive Labor Party
Racism is in essence a class question in the United States. This is true because racism is something spread as a
The Shockley Shock

Muzzle the racists!

group. It **does** include the professionals, the capitalist technicians, (accountants, brokers, etc.) and the middle-level businessmen. Even non-Marxist sociologists don't define "middle-class" by income. Income is part of it, but so is ideology, political relationship to the ruling class, education and economic relationship to exploited labor, that is, occupation. What S&W define as "middle-class" is in fact, for the most part, what is usually defined as the working class.

However, it is important for S&W to define "middle-class" solely in terms of income, i.e., that "middle-class" equals "middle-income," because then they go on to argue that more than one-half of black families are in the "middle-class." This is how they do it, with figures which appeared in "Soc. and Econ. Status, 1972":

> The median family income in the United States in 1971 was $10,285; today, it can be estimated at $11,000. This figure represents the middle-of-the-middle of family income distribution. Some lower figure—say $8,000 outside the South—may be said to represent the bottom-of-the-middle or the beginning of the middle-income status in America. In the South, where a disproportionate number of blacks still lives, the bottom-of-the-middle line may be drawn at $6,000. By these criteria, and again adjusting for recent income increases, just over half of black families in the United States are by now economically in the middle class (about 52 percent).

THIS IS SOPHISTRY OF THE HIGHEST ORDER. Median is a value in a series of values which stands at precisely the mid-range of the series of values: 50% are above and 50% are below. S-W define median income as "middle-class" when in fact that term carries with it many other connotations. Then they proceed to artibrarily define a range of incomes around the median to include the "middle-class" as they define it, the lower limit being $6,000 in the South and $8,000 elsewhere. Once having set the range, then they tell us that 52% of black families are contained within it. They do not share their basic data or their calculations with us, but more importantly, **they** picked the range. It does not take too much imagination to conclude that perhaps they set the range in order to be able to prove a preconceived notion: they wanted to show that more than one-half of black families are in the "middle-class," (by income and **regardless** of family size), and they did so, by arbitrarily setting a range of incomes to include more than one-half of black families. This is convenient, but it is hardly scientific.

ERRORS OF OMISSION

S&W arrive at certain conclusions by neatly omitting certain data. They discuss incomes in families with both adult members working.

> . . . black families are much more likely than white families to be "female-headed," but when they are not—when the families are "husband-wife" families—income is much likelier to approach equality with comparable white family incomes. Among black husband-wife families all over America in 1970, income was 73 percent of white family income. Outside the South it was 88 percent. But perhaps the most encouraging, and most significant, cross-tabulation of the income data concerns the economic status of young blacks. These young men and women have made striking education gains in recent years; they have made gains in "occupation" as well, i.e., in the sorts of jobs they hold; and they have made gains in the amounts of money they earn . . . .
>
> . . . The median income of black husband-wife families, in the North and West, with the head of family under 35 years of age, rose from 78 percent of white income in 1959 to 96 percent in 1970. There is a word to describe that figure: parity. And if we add a fourth variable to the equation, and examine families in which both the husband wife work, the figures come out to 85% in 1959, and in 1970—104 percent! For such families parity has not only been achieved, it has even been surpassed: young, married blacks, outside of the South, with husband and wife both working, earn as much or a trifle more than comparable whites.

In a footnote, they point out that "some . . . of these remarkable husband-wife family gains are due to the fact that young black wives outside of the South are somewhat more likely to work year 'round than young white wives. (52% vs. 36%)."

Their data are from "Soc. and Econ. Status, 1971." What they significantly fail to point out, however, is a fact stated in "Soc. and Econ Status, 1972," on p. 22: "These young black husband-wife families in the North and West whose incomes equalled that of whites comprised a relatively small proportion, 6 percent, of the 5.2 million black families in the country in March, 1972." The fact was as true in 1971 as it was in 1972, but S&W chose to leave it out and talk instead about "parity."

S&W are as likely to omit pertinent historical facts as they are to omit pertinent census data. They point out that "the percentage of blacks on welfare has gone sharply up . . . from 7 to 21 percent . . . A black in the poverty range, then, is far more likely to be receiving welfare now than in the early 60's . . . And whatever may be said about the deficiencies of aid to families with dependent children as a program, not to mention the panoply of other welfare services like food stamps and Medicaid, it seems an unequivocal gain that poor blacks are now getting welfare whereas at an earlier time they were getting nothing at all." This point is made in the context of a claim that "the percentage of blacks in poverty has gone down sharply from 48 to 29 percent in the years from 1959 to 1971." Again, we are not given the source for the latter figure, but it is easy to derive any percentages that you want to simply by changing limits of what constitutes the "poverty level" around to suit. More importantly, however, S&W simply ignore the major factor behind these kinds of figures, whatever they are: the movement of blacks off Southern farms in the 60's. much of that movement due to the invention of a mechanical cotton-picker.

"Soc. and Econ. Status, 1971," has the data. In 1960, 60% of blacks lived in the South, 16% in the North-East, 18% in the North-Central and 8% in the West. In 1970, the comparable figures were 53%, 19%, 20% and 8%. In all regions outside of the South, blacks were concentrated in the metropolitan areas in both 1960 and 1970. (Table 10), about 95%. In the South, however, the pro-

portion of blacks living in metropolitan areas changed from 50% in 1960 to 56% in 1970. Thus, at least some of the reduction of the proportion of black families in poverty and the increase in the proportion of black families benefiting (sic) from Welfare is related to their movement into the cities where welfare is available. Furthermore, S-W neglect to point out that while a higher proportion of blacks receive Welfare, a lower proportion receive Social Security.

Finally, perhaps S&W omit any clear references to their sources because they would not want their readers to see what the Census Bureau itself concludes from its own data. "Soc. and Econ. Status, 1972" had this to say, in part, about black income data:

At all educational levels, the earnings of black male workers 25 to 34 and 35 to 54 years old (who worked year round) were substantially below that of the comparable group of whites. Generally, improvements were noted for the younger men (25 to 34) who had college education. Among college educated men, the younger blacks had earnings in 1969 that were closer to that of the comparable whites than did older blacks. In contrast to black men, black women, with at least some years of college had median earnings that about equalled that of their white counterparts, in both age groups.

Approximately 7.7 million black persons and 16.2 million white persons were below the low-income level in 1972. These figures represented a decline in the number of poor for both populations since 1967. However, within the last year, there is some evidence that the number of black poor increased, whereas the number of low-income whites declined substantially.

The 1.5 million low-income black families were about 29 percent of all black families in 1972. The number of low-income black families did not change from 1967 to 1972. However, during the same period, the decline was substantial for low-income white families.

By 1972, about two-thirds of low-income black families were headed by women; and within the last year, the number of these families headed by women increased. There was no change in the number of low-income families headed by men.

Of the low-income black population, about half were children under 18 years of age and about one-fifth were heads of families.

About one-third of black women with own children under 18 years old were below the low-income level in 1971. Approximately 43 percent of these mothers worked at some time during 1971, and 19 percent worked year round. Of those not working, about three-fourths gave "keeping house" as their main reason for not working.

One-fourth of black families received public assistance income in 1971; of these about 61 percent were below the low income level. Five percent of white families had income from public assistance; of those receiving it, 45 percent were below the low-income level.

HOWEVER, DIRECT QUOTES LIKE THESE would not suit S&W's thesis, so they don't make them. They go into detail only on the data for husband-wife families in which both members work.

RANK RACISM

All racists eventually show their 'true colors' and S&W are no different. In discussing black female-headed welfare families they say: "Moreover, it is simply wrong to view every instance of female-poverty-plus-dependency as a net social loss. The 'welfare mess' has also offered the woman who faces a drunk and brutal husband the option—however unpleasant—of telling him to pack up and get out. It may put the family on welfare, but it also dissolves a destructive relationship;" And we all know how many black men are drunken brutes, don't we?

A bit later on, discussing migration out of ghettos by upwardly mobile blacks,,(a fiction in itself, I believe), the old ghettos are described in these terms. "(The older slum) has become a place made up disproportionately of the dependent poor—the female-headed families and the elderly—and social derelicts, winos, addicts, hustlers, pimps, prostitutes,,criminals and bums. And the crime rates are high beyond imagining." No figures are given, of course, but you **know** what jungles Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant are, don't you folks?

SUMMARY

"Black Progress and Liberal Rhetoric" is a piece of racist distortion of the facts. Myths are created about black people by outright lies and clever sophistries. But racists always eventually show their true colors, and Scammon and Wattenberg are no exception. They are very useful to the racist Shanker in his drive to prove "how much we've done for the blacks." Thus, they are just as dangerous as Herrnstein, Jensen and Shockley, and Jencks and must be combatted in the same vigorous way.

Dec. 4, 1973-1000 Princeton students angrily confront Shockley, chanting, "Is there a Nobel prize for genocide?"

The Kapetanios

Revolutionary Development in Greece

The following article is reprinted from the New Left Review. PL magazine welcomes comments.

Two events—the April 1967 military coup d'etat and the outbreak in April 1968 of the rift in the Communist Party—have opened a new period in Greek politics. They have also focused international attention on the situation in Greece. The circles of opinion that registered the impact of these events were not, of course, identical, the April coup affecting a far broader circle than the communist party rift. As a departure from the past, however, and as an omen for the future, the latter event may in the long run prove more significant than the former. It is, in any case, important enough to justify a new look at the history of the communist party and the revolutionary struggle in Greece.

The Kapetanios[1] is essentially an attempt at such a new look. In the sense that it offers a systematic critique of the record of the Greek communist leadership between 1941 and 1949 (with an epilogue which extends the critique to 1967), and by virtue of the fact that it presents the views of dissident members of that leadership registered while the events which led to the defeat of the revolution in Greece were still taking shape. Eudes' book constitutes an important political event first and foremost for the Greek Left. But its interest is not exclusively Greek. The torment of the Communist Party of Greece and those who followed it is inextricably connected with political events and currents of history of much wider than Greek dimensions. Events like the October 1944 Stalin-Churchill understanding on spheres of influence, the February 1945 Yalta agreements, the start of the Cold War and the Truman Doctrine of March 1947, and the Stalin-Tito clash all had immediate repercussions on the course of events in Greece. From the point of view of a British public, finally, this book has particular interest in that it was Britain which acted as the predominant foreign power on the Greek scene, in contest with Nazi Germany in the 1940-4 period and in conflict with the Greek people and its national resistance movement, EAM, in the 1944-7 period. In fact, British imperialist policies were the main cause both of the defeat of the Greek communists and of the subjugation of the Greek people to a reactionary regime whose most recent product is the 1967 military dictatorship.

Eudes begins his story with the emergence, in the summer and autumn of 1942, of ELAS, the National Popular Liberation Army, a guerrilla

1 Dominique Eudes. **The Kapetanios: Partisans and Civil War in Greece 1943-1949**, NLB, 1972.

Greek students and workers demonstrate against fascism of Papadopoulos in Nov. Revolutionary communists have broken with the Popular Front mentality (ally with liberal bosses) which dominated the strategy of the Greek Communist Party until the internal split of 1967.

force which sprang up as a response to the Nazi occupation of Greece (1941-4) but soon assumed the character both of a national liberation movement and (since its leadership was in the hands of the Communist Party of Greece), socially revolutionary force. ELAS was the military arm of EAM, the National Liberation Front, which was also communist-controlled. The resistance record of these two organizations was a brilliant one. EAM grew to be a political organization encompassing millions of members. Its prestige and authority made it the virtual wartime government of occupied Greece, which prevented collaborationist politicians from gaining any sort of foothold among the Greek people. This, in its turn, had the further consequence that Greek resources in manpower and, to a large extent, also in materials, were forbidden to the Nazis throughout the war. Of all countries of occupied Europe, Greece has the distinction of being the only one which sent neither workers to German factories nor expeditionary forces to fight on the Eastern Front. How the former of these feats was achieved, despite a mobilization order of the German military commander of South-Eastern Europe, is related in Eudes' book (pp. 33ff). It is, to say the least, remarkable that EAM, under a ferocious foreign occupation, was able to force the Nazi government to officially quash its labour mobilization order, by means of mass demonstrations in Athens which assumed almost insurrectional dimensions.

IT WAS EAM WHICH CREATED THE POLITIcal climate which enabled ELAS to move among the Greek people like Mao's famous fish in the water. This is not to say that ELAS did not generate its own momentum or that its action did not have important feedback effects on EAM. But the political organization, EAM and the popular army ELAS fought side by side and mutually complemented each other. From the strictly military point of view ELAS, on the estimate of Field-Marshal Alexander (Eudes p. 208), had managed to pin down in Greece between six and seven divisions, in addition to the equivalent of four on the Greek islands. These forces the Nazis were unable to use on the main operational theatres. In addition ELAS undertook specific sabotage operations, planned by the Middle-East Allied Command and executed with the help of British saboteurs parachuted into Greece throughout the occupation. These operations were important, both with regard to hampering the flow of supplies to the German forces in North Africa and in creating a diversion during the Allied landing in Sicily in July 1943—a contribution for which General Wilson, the British Commander of the Middle-East Allied Forces, felt he had to send a special message of congratulations to the Greek guerrillas.

These distinguished services of EAM-ELAS in the Allied cause did not win for them any gratitude on the part of the British government. It was Churchill's view, which prevailed in the British War Cabinet, that Britain must first and foremost safeguard its long-term political interests in Greece. This implied the restoration of the King of the Hellenes, who had taken refuge in Britain after Greece had been overrun by the **Webrmacht.** The British Military Mission in occupied Greece was accordingly instructed to support in preference royalist guerrillas. It was unfortunate, from that point of view, that scarcely any such guerrillas were available on the Greek mountains. The only non-communist formation worthy of consideration was EDES headed by Napoleon Zervas who, as a former republican officer, ought in principle to have been as opposed to the return of the king as EAM-ELAS. King George II, and the institution of monarchy in general, were not particularly popular among the Greek people. Moreover, they had lost all claim to legitimacy by openly conniving in the imposition of a fascist-type dictatorship on pre-war Greece, in 1936. No democratic movement emerging from the flames of the Second World War could possibly have tolerated the restoration of such a monarch.

Nevertheless, the British Military Mission in Greece and the British Foreign Service outside Greece managed to assemble a motley crew of former politicians, and to push the careerist Zervas on to pro-royal positions. They thus confronted EAM-ELAS with a Greek opposition which, although representing almost nothing in terms of material strength or popular support inside Greece (let alone their practical non-existence as a resistance force), could nevertheless be vested with British recognition and presented as the prospective government of Greece, with which EAM-ELAS, the actual governing force in Greece during the occupation, ought to come to terms, voluntarily giving up its political and military predominance. Eudes goes so far as to hint at an underhand British-German co-operation during the war in setting up collaborationist armed units to oppose the guerrillas. The evidence he invokes to support this argument consists of certain statements of the collaborationist Prime Minister John Rallis in his trial after the liberation of Greece, in October 1944, together with certain suspect contacts of one member of the British Military Mission during the occupation. The evidence is not new and cannot take one beyond suspicions. (It is, of course, generally admitted that collaborationist militiamen were widely used against ELAS, with the full support and knowledge of the British representatives in Greece, in the clash that followed the liberation.)

The Greek communist leadership allowed itself to be drawn by Britain into negotiating with the straw men whom British foreign policy put up. They were also prevailed upon to spare the Zervas guerrilla total disbandment, in the name of the common struggle against Nazism. On the basis of these two key concessions, Britain managed to manoeuvre the EAM-ELAS representatives into so weak a position on the front of political negotions that they were made to accept a government of so-called national unity, under George Papandreou, in which they, the real masters of Greece, the founders of EAM's popular state that had by 1944 liberated the whole of the Greek countryside and represented the only real force in the still occupied cities, were reduced to the

position of poor relations. With regard to the armed forces, the programme of the Papandreou government was to disband all guerrilla forces and absorb the fighters into a new, allegedly national, allegedly non-political army. Such was the content of the so-called Lebanon agreement, reached in May 1944 between an EAM delegation from Free (i.e. guerrilla-liberated) Greece and clutch of former politicians who had fled under British protection to the Middle East, where they offered themselves as willing instruments of British imperialist policy against the Greek people. As the part of the agreement that provided for the formation of a national army proved too manifestly unrealistic, it was supplemented in September 1944 by a further agreement, which provided for the creation of respective zones in which, after the withdrawal of the German troops, the ELAS forces, the EDES forces and the forces of the Papandreou government-in-exile supported by British troops, would take over. ELAS was, of course, excluded from taking over Athens and Salonika, the governing centres of Greece.

THESE AGREEMENTS, SO OVERWHELMingly favourable for the non-communist side, were completely out of line with the relation of forces in the country—as far as specifically Greek forces were concerned. Their unreality was obvious to Churchill, who had few illusions as to what he would have to do to prevent Greece staying under the control of EAM-ELAS. As early as September 1943, Churchill had visualized the possibility of an intervention of British troops to impose a government that accorded with British desires and interests. But to realize his plan, Churchill needed the ratification of his other two partners in war, Roosevelt and Stalin. By offering concessions to Stalin in other parts of the Balkans, and particularly in Rumania, Churchill managed to get a free hand in Greece. This allowed him to push Papandreou to a display of intransigence towards EAM-ELAS. The latter, having abdicated its power on paper, found it impossible to swallow the bitter pill of the voluntary disarmament of ELAS in practice. Faced with increasing provocation on the part of its opponents, the communist leadership was pushed to attempt an armed seizure of power in Athens, where it was met with the full force of British military intervention. Despite an heroic month-long struggle by ELAS in Athens, in December 1944 British military superiority eventually won the day. After the communists lost Athens, and despite the fact that they continued to control the rest of Greece, they sought terms. This time the terms were, of course, far stiffer even than those imposed in Lebanon. The communist forces were disarmed and in effect handed over to the mercies of the former collaborators with the Nazis, who launched a fierce repression under the complacent protection of the British forces. It was a matter of months before Greece slid into full civil war. ELAS was then resuscitated, under the name of the Democratic Army, but with only a fraction of its former support among the people. Despite that, it had some initial success. But the scales became definitely tipped against it when the USA decided, in March 1947, to intervene in full force in favour of the anti-communist side. From then on the fate of the communist guerrilla, which received no corresponding support from the USSR, was sealed. The fighting dragged on till the end of 1949, but the communist side was totally defeated. Greece was spared an open military dictatorship in 1950 because of the wish of the United States to save democratic pretences; but an illiberal counter-revolutionary regime (which was in its essential aspects a continuation of the Metaxas regime) nevertheless rose again from the ashes of the civil war. This regime practised vindictive retaliation and discriminatory treatment against the mass of the Greek left. When, despite this repression it became likely in the early sixties that a more representative government might at last emerge—which would unavoidably have given some real possibilities to the Greek Left—a military **coup d'etat** nipped the process in the bud.

This is the general pattern of events against which Eudes develops the theme that gives his book its specific interest. This theme can briefly be summarized as follows. ELAS sprang up, under the impact of the German occupation, as a revolutionary peasant army under popular leaders whom he collectively names the **Kapetanios**. These popular leaders were the representatives of a mighty insurrectional upsurge among the Greek people, and pressed for a policy of maximizing the military advantage of ELAS, without regard to the restraining influence of the British Military Mission and irrespective of the risk of a confrontation with Britain—which they felt had to be faced from a position of as great strength as possible. They were overruled, however, by the leadership of the Greek Communist Party, which did not understand and was even suspicious of the peasant guerrilla, since the latter did not correspond to what Eudes calls the 'canonical' pattern of revolution through an insurrection on the part of the urban proletariat. Needless to say, these communist leaders were Stalinist to the core. They fell into the greatest possible confusion when they realized that Soviet policy had assigned them to the British sphere of influence. Unable to cut loose from their allegiance to the USSR, unable on the other hand to justify their attitude to the Greek people in arms, they vacillated between armed confrontation with their class opponents and seeking what one might call a social-democratic compromise with them. Whenever their desire to serve the general strategy of the Soviet Union took the upper hand, they gave too much ground to Britain. And when, on the other hand, they tried to restore their control of the situation inside Greece by an act of force, they still adopted modes of action based solely on the preconception of an urban revolution, or of a regular army, on the pattern of the Red Army, whereas the situation in Greece called first and foremost for a peasant popular guerrilla. Its endless vacillation caused the communist leadership to mishandle both its social-democratic attempts at compromise and its revolutionary potentialities, so that it ended up with the worst of both worlds. The **Kapetanois**, caught up in this mesh of inconsistency, political ineptness and blunder, shone

Just a photo for the folks back home.

by their ability to serve the revolutionary cause against desperate odds, despite their inability to make their point of view prevail against an insensitive, dogmatic leadership. But they were isolated, slandered, outmanoeuvred and on some occasions even physically liquidated, by the past-masters of intra-party intrigue.

What are the specific political mistakes with which Eudes charges the Greek communist leadership? First, a refusal to strengthen ELAS to the maximum point during the German occupation. This took the form of keeping in the cities vast human reserves, ready to join the guerrilla, which were deliberately not instructed to do so because of the unilateral emphasis placed on the maintenance of an urban revolutionary force. In this Eudes is undoubtedly right, at least to the extent **that the communist leadership proved unable to make a decisive choice to give priority to a guerrilla form of struggle when faced with a revolutionary situation both in the cities and in the countryside. That this was so is, in fact, strikingly confirmed by a study of the published documents of the Communist Party of Greece during the occupation (although Eudes does not himself draw on these). It has furthermore been implicitly admitted by one of the members of the communist politburo of that period, Petros Roussos, in his book** I Megali Tetraetia **(Four Great Years), which surprisingly does not appear in Eudes' bibliography.**

THE SECOND CHARGE IS THE MORE USUAL one that EAM-ELAS made too many concessions to Britain during the German occupation. This charge is reinforced by the additional consideration that they made these concessions to serve the general strategic interests of the USSR to the detriment of those of the Greek revolution. The charge is at that point extended to include the Soviet government, i.e., Stalin, who not only sold the Greek communists down the river in his famous deal with Churchill (the existence of which, it should be said, official Soviet historians continue hypocritically to deny), but also sent a representative to the Greek mountains (the mysterious Colonel Popov) to keep the Greek guerrillas in line. Finally, the attitude of the Greek communist leadership towards Britain and the USSR is compared with the militant and determined attitude of Tito and the Yugoslav communists, whose intransigence is claimed to explain why they won the day.

Here some caution would not be out of place. There is no doubt that the Greek communist leadership made too many, monstrously many, concessions to Britain during the war. There is no doubt that a general motivation to serve the interests of the Soviet Union did exist on the Greek communist side. There is also no doubt that Stalin did sell the Greek communists down the river. Yet some doubt does persist, even for Eudes himself, as to whether, having given Churchill a free hand in Greece, the Soviet leadership might not have hoped that this hand would in fact be tied by the unaided force of the Greek communists.

This point merits a rather closer examination. Eudes writes (p. 147): 'No doubt Popov's mask expressed the stance of a Pontius Pilate. There is nothing we can do for you; sort it out for your-

selves. It is most unlikely that the head of the Soviet Mission would personally have wished EAM-ELAS to capitulate to the Anglo-Saxon Allies.' But Popov arrived in Greece shortly after the conclusion of the fateful Lebanon agreement that incorporated the capitulation to the Allies. Moreover, he arrived at a moment when the agreement was coming under fire from the **Kapetanois**—and indeed from the vast majority of the rank-and-file of EAM and the communist party. For once it appeared as if the popular current was likely to carry along the dogmatic leadership. At that precise moment Popov arrived. The objections and the threatened withdrawal of EAM from the agreement were immediately dropped. The inference has been drawn that Popov actually instructed Siandos, the Secretary of the Communist Party, to abide by the Lebanon agreement in the name of Allied unity. Indeed, Eudes presents for the first time the transcript of an alleged conversation between one of Popov's staff and a distinguished guerrilla leader (Bakirtzis, an officer of the regular army) to the effect that the Lebanon agreement must be respected. If that was the content of the message which Popov transmitted to Siandos, then there can be no equivocation; the USSR did actually instruct the Greek communist leadership to surrender to Britain. If not, the responsibility for what happened on the Greek side was not Stalin's alone, despite his deal with Churchill. What is the truth?

To this tantalizing question it is possible that we shall never learn the answer with certainty—unless, of course, the Soviet authorities decide to disclose it. On the Greek side, there are just three persons who may be 'in the know.' The first is Petros Roussos, the man who negotiated the Lebanon agreement. He is a devout pro-Moscow communist; he will not speak. The second is Dimitris Partsalidis, the secretary of EAM in the crucial period of Popov's arrival. Partsalidis happens to be the man who initiated the present rift in the Greek communist party. He is one of the leaders of the 'Party of the Interior,' which has proclaimed its independence from the Soviet Union. Partsalidis, now in a Greek prison for anti-junta activity, is probably too devoted to the sacred memory of the wartime Soviet Union to open his mouth on such a damning topic. The third is the ex-secretary-general of the communist party. Nikos Zahariadis. Although in German captivity during the war, he was certainly briefed by Siandos upon his return to Greece. It is not inconceivable that Zahariadis might decide to speak. But we shall not be able to hear him. The Soviet authorities keep him 'employed' in a kolkhoz lost somewhere in the deeper depths of the Russian countryside. The great secret of the Greek resistance, the secret that may well have cost tens of thousands of lives of EAM and communist party members, remains well guarded against those most entitled to know: the Greek Left and the Greek people in general.

Greek students demonstrate against fascism, Nov. '73.

Finally, we have to deal briefly with the comparison between the attitude of the Greek and that of the Yugoslav communists. It is certainly true that, under Tito, the Yugoslav communist movement faced both its internal and its external opponents with greater determination than did their Greek counterparts. But too much should not be made of this political superiority. One should never forget that British troops did not go to Yugoslavia. They went to Greece. That, in itself might be enough to explain the different fate of the two, otherwise so similar resistance movements. We ought to be careful not to attribute to superior handling of the situation an outcome due to good fortune.

THE THIRD AREA IN WHICH THE GREEK communist leadership is indicated by Eudes is for its actual handling of the armed struggle, first against the British and second against the Greek government forces. With regard to the former it is claimed that insufficient aggressiveness was displayed in December 1944, and that this was compounded by utterly incompetent tactics. The claim is correct on both counts. Between 5 and 10 December 1944, the British troops in Athens found themselves in an extremely difficult position; so difficult that mass surrender appeared even to Churchill himself to be on the cards. To force such a surrender was in the power of the ELAS forces. One may imagine the diplimatic and domestic British political repercussions of such a defeat. Churchill's position in Greece might easily have been rendered untenable. But ELAS was not ordered to make the required effort in time. Rather it was made to divide its forces between fighting the British in Athens and pursuing Zervas in the North-West of Greece. This lack of determination and co-ordination in the clash with the British is half-implicitly, half-explicitly attributed by Eudes to the belief of the communist leadership that they were not fighting to achieve military victory but merely to negotiate from a position of strength with the British, presumably keen to see a quick end to the fighting. It was the worst possible tactic to adopt towards an opponent like Churchill, who firmly held to the principle

'no peace without victory.'

Unwilling to learn from experience, the Greek communist leadership repeated the same mistake in its clumsy handling of the armed struggle against the government forces in the 1947-9 period. With regard to this latter period, the organizer of the Democratic Army, Markos Vanadis, in his written criticism of the party's leadership, hits the nail on the head when he writes: 'The Party did not join the people's armed struggle with much conviction, still less with the intention of carrying it through to victory. It wanted to use armed struggle as a form of blackmail to deal with the situation which had arisen after Varkiza...' (one more capitulatory agreement made by the Greek communist leadership after the defeat of December 1944 in Athens). (Eudes, p. 335.)

Thus the accusations levelled by Eudes against the wartime communist leadership are substantially justified. But his attempt at a theoretical explanation of their mistakes is less convincing. No plausible explanation is given of the ability of such a blundering leadership to maintain the support of its followers and neutralize the opposition from the **Kapetanois**. The undemocratic nature of Stalinist communist parties cannot be the whole reason. Nor can mistrust towards the peasant masses (a mistrust largely inferred rather than demonstrated by Eudes) explain everything. A more plausible explanation, based on the facts and often penetrating partial analyses offered by Eudes, could be sought along the following lines.

The Communist Party of Greece was formed and moulded in the interwar period. It grew up as a Bolshevik, Leninist-type party of professional revolutionaries, committed to class struggle, to the hegemony of the proletariat, to democratic centralism and to the Third International. In the early thirties, the Party was taken over by a group of determined Stalinists, who combined missionary zeal with ruthless imposition of discipline and political uniformity on the party organizations. Up to 1934 the Communist Party of Greece followed classical Third Period policies, rejecting all alliances inside the working-class movement; but it did seek to maximize the revolutionary potential of the proletarian elite.

In 1935, however, these attitudes were given a severe jolt by the Communist International, which laid down its policy of Popular Fronts against fascism. The Greek communists, soon to face a fascist-type dictatorship in their own land, interpreted the International directives as meaning the postponement of the class-struggle for socialism until such time as the fascist threat would no longer throw its shadow on the world. They embarked on a fairly open programme of anti-fascist alliances, which stood them in good stead as a preparation for the national liberation front of the Nazi occupation. Their conception of EAM was similar. EAM was not intended to win power for the communist party but to maximize anti-fascist unity and, at most, safeguard the conditions of free political competition among various ideological groups after the liberation.

Given that they did not view the EAM movement for the revolutionary conquest of power, the Greek communist leaders were sceptical about the merits of exploiting the full military potential of the situation in and through ELAS. Their reservations however, referred to armed struggle in general, which they considered as subsidiary to the mass political struggle so successfully waged by EAM. They did not refer to a specific form of armed action—peasant guerrilla. All armed struggle was for them of secondary importance. The main factor, which determined the hesitation of the communist leadership, as well as its weak attitude towards British pressure, was the interpretation of their role during the war as being merely to help the allies defeat Hitler, while the question of power could wait.

If EAM had been less successful, if a non-communist resistance of some strength had also developed in Greece, this attitude of equal partnership in wartime might have been justified. The trouble was that the Greek communists proved too successful in resistance. The Greek people, through EAM, offered themselves to communist leadership, not merely for resistance but also for broader political and social objectives, i.e. for a socialist transformation. The communist leadership, which had set itself the limited objective of fighting the Nazis, found revolution and power thrust upon it by an enthusiastic people in arms. This proved too much for them. They proved unable to follow the transformation of the resistance chrysalis into a revolutionary movement. Hence they stuck to their limited view, of trying to carve out for the communist party a partial position in the public life of Greece, whereas what had been given them by the Greek people and by historical events was the whole of Greek social life to be reshaped in accordance with socialist principles. Their hesitation to resort to armed struggle, their strange willingness to enter into political negotiations and unequal agreements, all stem from this fundamental conception of their role as a mere anti-fascist ally and not as a leader of a people bent upon completing its national liberation from the occupying German forces by its political liberation from a British-controlled monarchist regime and its socio-economic emancipation from capitalism.

EUDES FAILS TO BRING OUT THE IMportance of the Popular Front mentality in the formulation of the policies of the Greek communist party towards the resistance. Starting his narrative with the formation of ELAS, he ignores the crucial 1935-42 period, in which the ideologico-political principles which led to the emergence of the EAM conception were shaped. He is too influenced by a problematic not directly applicable to Greece, involving the counterposition of peasant guerrilla to action of the working class in the cities. But Greece, during the German occupation, was a country that had already solved the problem of distribution of landed estates, which presumably gives the main impetus to rural revolution. The working class of Greece did not at all resemble a privileged proletariat, indulging in trade-union action in an industrialized enclave of a generally underdeveloped country. The Greek working class proved to be as revolutionary as

the Greek peasantry if not more so, and if it held back from massively joining ELAS in the mountains, the reason was that it was not asked to do so by the leaders in whom it believed. These leaders were mechanically responding to the schema of an international alliance during a period of time when independent initiative and political courage (implying first and foremost the rejection of any passive acceptance of Soviet orders) were the precondition for success.

ON THE OTHER HAND, THESE SAME LEADers had won the confidence of the Greek masses by their readiness to serve, and sacrifice themselves in the service of the political movement in which they believed. Their obvious dedication, combined with the formidable prestige of the Soviet Union in the thirties and forties, placed them in an impregnable position in the Greek revolutionary movement. The **Kapetanios** on the other hand, most of whom were of the same breed of inter-war communist leaders, did not manage to present an alternative political platform and fight, on that basis, for the leadership of the movement. Their rebellions against the official line, illustrated by the tragedy of Aris Velouhiotis and the lesser tragedy of Markos Vanadis, came too late and were too limited. Although, compared to the official leaders, the **Kapetanios** were nearer to a correct policy, they never came near enough to make a decisive difference. If the Greek revolution failed, part of the responsibility has to fall on the shoulders of the **Kapetanios** as well.

But it is the virtue of Eudes to have chosen to make a sympathetic presentation of the views of people like Tzimas (now dead) Karagiorgis, Kikitzas or Markos Vanadis, who never got a proper hearing in the Greek Left, although they were nearer the truth than the Stalinists who persecuted and in some cases exterminated them. It is a fact that the history of the Greek revolutionary movement has not yet been written and Eudes makes an essential contribution. Even from what has been published till now, however, two great lessons emerge from the tragic experience of the Greek revolution. The first is that revolutionary courage and discipline, necessary in hours of battle, cannot be made into a fetish that exempts the leadership of a movement from criticism, and indeed from replacement in case of failure. Secondly the real mistake of the leaders of the Greek Party was not so much that they underestimated the rural struggle or overemphasized the urgan struggle but rather that they allowed the spirit of the anti-Facist Alliance, the myth and reality of British military strength and the indications emanating from the Soviet leadership, to deflect them from consummating and consolidating the revolutionary popular power that the Resistance movement had made such a potent reality.

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RUN IT OVER WITH REVOLUTION

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CHALLENGE

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S.F: Nazis Surface

PLPers Force Them To Retreat

Solzhenitsyn Slanders Workers' Gains

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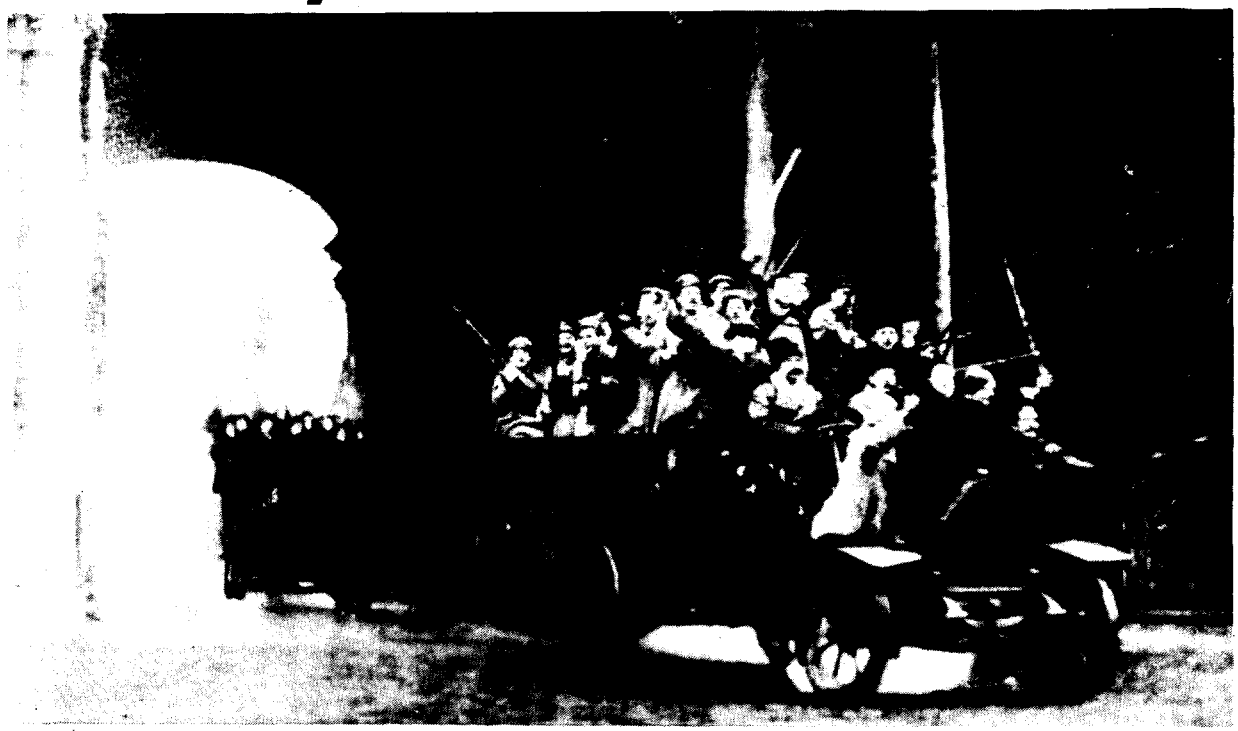

In 1917 the Bolsheviks mobilized hundreds of thousands of workers and soldiers (such as these pictured above), to overrun the bosses' system of Czarist Russia and establish the first workers state.

Join The May Day Motorcade

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